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THE

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BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

VOL. IV.

CHAPTER 22 — 30.

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STAIRCASE

CHAPTER XI.—30.

AGE 12.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

BY

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

THE

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER XXII.

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THE alarm which followed upon the melancholy event of the field of Flodden through the whole kingdom of Scotland was universal and appalling; but fortunately those who had to direct the energies of the state under circumstances so adverse, were composed of a metal competent to

the task. The commissioners who exercised the power of the magistracy of Edinburgh, for the lord provost and magistrates in person had accompanied the king to the fatal field, set a distinguished example of resolution. A proclamation is extant, in which, speaking of the misfortune of the king and his host as a rumour of which there was yet no certainty, they appointed the females of respectability to pass to church, those of the lower rank to forbear clamouring and shrieking in the streets, and all men capable of bearing arms to take their weapons, and be ready, on the first tolling of the great bell of the city, to attend upon the magistrates, and contribute to the defence of the town. It is the language of Rome when Hannibal was at the gates.

The victorious English were, therefore, expected to appear shortly before the walls of the metropolis; but Surrey's army had been summoned together for defending their own frontier, not for the invasion -of Scotland. The crown vassals did not remain in the field after their term of service had been rendered: and though the victory was gained, yet a loss of at least four thousand men had thinned the ranks of the conquerors. The absence of Henry VIII. prevented any vindictive measures, which he was likely enough to have taken, on finding the kingdom

of his late brother by the recent defeat exposed to receive its doom at the hand of a conqueror.

A general council of the Scottish nobles was convoked at Perth (October, 1513) to coucert what national measures ought to be adopted for the government of the kingdom at this exigency. The number of the nobles who gave attendance was few; and the empty seats and shortened roll gave melancholy evidence of the extent of the late loss. The queen was readily admitted to the regency, a compliment which might be intended to conciliate her brother Henry. It had not, however, that effect. Letters arrived from France, by which the king of England strictly commanded and fiercely urged that the success at Flodden should be followed up by repeated inroads upon the Scottish frontiers, where a desolating though indecisive war was maintained accordingly.

Driven to despair by the severity of Henry, the Scottish council began to look towards France, and to turn their eyes to a prince of the blood-royal, now resident there, and next heir to the crown of Scotland, had James IV. died childless. This was John duke of Albany, son of that Alexander duke of Albany, who was brother to James III., who, having been declared a traitor for attaching himself to England, had ended his days in France. To this duke John a strong

party in Scotland proposed to assign the regency, which they wished no longer to intrust with a female and an Englishwoman, sister to a monarch who used his success so unsparingly. Whatever efforts might have been made to support Margaret in the office to which the king's will had admitted her, they became unavailing by her marrying the earl of Angus as soon as she had recovered from her confinement, in which she bore a posthumous child to James IV. A marriage so soon after the death of her royal husband was prejudicial to her reputation, and, as it placed her personally under the control of a subject, rendered her incapable of holding and exercising the sovereign power of regent.

In some respects, indeed, her choice could not be amended. Earl Archibald of Angus was grandson and successor to him whom we have so often distinguished by the name of Bell the-Cat. His father and uncle had fallen at Flodden; his aged grandfather had carried his sorrows for Scotland, and for his own loss of two gallant sons, into the shade of religious retirement. This young man, therefore, was at the head of the second branch of the house of Douglas, which had risen to a degree of power destined once more to make their sovereign tremble. Angus was also all that could win a lady's eye; he was splendid in attire, retinue, and house-

keeping; handsome, brave, and active. But he had the faults of his family, being ambitious and desirous of power; and he had those of his youth, being headlong and impetuous in his passions, wild and unrestrained in his conduct. He did not pay the queen, who was some years older than himself, that deference which Margaret might have expected from decorum if not from affection, and at best was a negligent and faithless husband His ambition aspired to maintain his wife's claims to the regency, although forfeited, as already said, by her second marriage.

But the preferable claim of Albany was maintained by the Scottish nobility, who asserted the right of the next in succession to rule the kingdom during the minority of the monarch. Albany had, indeed, an elder brother; but as a divorce after his birth had passed between his parents: for being related within the forbidden degrees, he was regarded as illegitimate. The right of this prince to the chief government was in an especial manner supported by the earl of Arran, head of the house of Hamilton, and connected with the royal family by his mother, Mary Stuart, the eldest daughter of king James II., who, when widow of the fallen favourite, Thomas Boyd earl of Arran, had married the first Lord Hamilton. The title of her first husband was conferred upon her son by the second, who thus became the

first earl of Arran of the name of Hamilton. This powerful nobleman, waving some pretensions which he himself might have made to the regency, added great weight to that party which pleaded the rights of Albany. The duke of Albany came over to Scotland accordingly, and was installed as regent (1515). In the same year the lingering war with England was put an end to by the inclusion of Scotland in the peace which had been agreed upon betwixt France and that country.

The regent Albany, bred in the court of Francis I., and a personal favourite of that monarch, was more of a courtier than of a soldier or a statesman; and the winning qualities of vivacity and grace of manners which had gained him favour and applause while in France, were lost on the rude nobility of Scotland. He possessed the pride of high birth, and the command of considerable wealth, for his wife had been heiress of the county of Auvergne; but his talents were of a mean order, and he was alike insolent and pusillanimous.

Albany was not long in showing that he was about to direct the power of regent, now that he had obtained the office, against Angus and his wife, by whom his ascent to the dignity had been opposed. He obtained an order from the parliament that the royal children should be

delivered up to him. Margaret, after a vain resistance, was compelled to place the infant king and his short-lived brother Alexander under the suspicious care of an aspiring kinsman; and her husband Angus hastened to the border, to consult with Lord Home upon some means of withstanding the oppressive severity of the regent's government. Albany, however, was powerful enough to disconcert all their measures, even though Arran, deserting the regent's party, was so mutable as to make common cause with Home. The queen-mother, far advanced in her pregnancy, was driven into England, where she was delivered of a female infant, in the miserable turret of a Northumbrian baron, from which she afterwards took refuge in her brother's court. The circumstance, however, of having been born in England was of considerable advantage to the lady Margaret Douglas in calculating her proximity to the English crown.

Meantime the regent became unpopular. The younger of the two Scottish princes died in his custody, not without foul suspicion of neglect or poison. The nation sympathised with the distresses and danger of the royal family; the dissatisfaction at Albany's government became universal; and the king's person was taken from his custody, and placed in the hands of certain select peers, to whose loyalty he might be safely

intrusted. The regent found his power restricted and his situation unpleasant, and entertained thoughts of withdrawing from the rude kingdom which he had undertaken to govern. He seems to have suspended his purpose only till he made the experiment, whether by one grand exertion of authority he might not reduce to obedience those troublesome peers by whom his government had been repeatedly disturbed. This blow descended on the Lord Home, who, being the favourite of the late king, and the close ally of Angus, had maintained in the eastern marches a resistance to the regent's authority, and a constant communication with England (1516). Being imprudent enough to trust his person and that of his brother within reach of the regent's authority, lord Home was seized, tried, and executed. But this exertion of power had no effect, save that of exciting, as we shall hereafter see, the vindictive rage of the friends of the deceased victim of justice or of vengeance. In the year in which Home was beheaded, Albany obtained or extorted the permission of the estates to pay a visit to France. At the same time, although the duke's name was retained as regent, the real power was lodged in a council, in which Angus, having now returned to Scotland, held a seat. His wife, queen Margaret, was received back with all due honour, and there seemed

reason to think that something like a steady government was at length formed.

The contrary, however, was soon visible. Anthony d'Arcy, seigneur de la Bastie, a French knight of great courage and fame, had been left by the regent in the important situation of warden of the eastern marches, and had taken up the duties of the office with a strict hand. But Home of Wedderburn, a powerful chief of the name, could not brook that an office usually held by the head of his house should be lodged in the hands of a foreigner dependent on the regent, by whom lord Home had been put to death. Eager for revenge, the border chieftain waylaid the new warden with an ambuscade of armed men. Seeing himself beset, the unfortunate d'Arcy endeavoured to gain the castle of Dunbar (1517); but having run his horse into a morass near Dunse, he was overtaken and slain. Home knitted the head to his saddle-bow by the long locks which had been so much admired in courtly assemblies, and placed it on the ramparts of Home castle, as a pledge of the vengeance exacted for the death of the late lord of that fortress.

The peace of the kingdom was also disturbed by a constant dissension betwixt the parties of Hamilton and Douglas, in other words, between the earls of Angus and Arran. They used arms

against each other without hesitation. At length, January 1520, a parliament being called at Edinburgh, the earl of Angus appeared with four hundred of his followers, armed with spears. The Hamiltons, not less eager and similarly prepared for strife, repaired to the capital in equal or superior numbers. They assembled in the house of the chancellor Beaton, the ambitious archbishop of Glasgow, who was bound to the faction of Arran by that nobleman having married the prelate's niece. Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, a son of earl Bell-the-Cat, and the celebrated translator of Virgil, laboured to prevent the factions from coming to blows. He applied to Beaton himself, as official conservator of the laws and peace of the realm. Beaton, laying his hand upon his heart, protested upon his conscience he could not help the affray which was about to take place. «Ha! my lord,» said the advocate for peace, who heard a shirt of mail rattle under the bishop's rochet, «methinks your conscience clatters.» The bishop of Dunkeld theu had recourse to sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the earl of Arran, who willingly attempted to exhort his kinsmen to the preservation of peace, until he was rudely upbraided with reluctance to fight by sir James Hamilton, natural son to his brother, and a man of a fierce and sanguinary disposition. «False bastard!» said

sir Patrick, in wrath, « I will fight to-day where thou darest not be seen."

There were now no more thoughts of peace, and the Hamiltons, with their western friends and allies, rushed in fury up the lanes which lead from the Cowgate, where the bishop's palace was situated, intending to take possession of the High street. But the Douglases had been beforehand with them, and already occupied the principal street, with the advantage of attacking their enemies as they issued in disorder from the narrow closes or lanes. Such of Angus's followers also as had not lances were furnished with them by the favour of the citizens of Edinburgh, who handed them over their windows. These long weapons gave the Douglases great advantage over their enemies, and rendered it easy to bear them down, as they struggled breathless and disordered out of the heads of the lanes (1522.). Nor was this Angus's only piece of fortune: Home of Wedderburn, also a great adherent of the Douglas, arrived while the battle was yet raging, and, bursting his way through the Netherbow gate at the head of his formidable borderers, appeared in the street in a decisive moment. The Hamiltons were driven out of the city, leaving upwards of seventy men dead, one of whom was sir Patrick Hamilton, the advocate for peace. The earl of Arran and his natural son were so

far endangered, that, meeting a collier's horse, they were fain to throw off its burden, and, both mounting the same miserable animal, they escaped through a ford in the loch which then defended the northern side of the city.

The consequences of this skirmish, which, according to the humour of the age, was long remembered by the name of Cleanse the Causeway, raised Angus for a little time to the head of affairs. But, unable to reacquire the lost affection of his wife, the queen-dowager, the latter, in her aversion to her husband and resentment of his infidelities and neglects, joined in soliciting the return of Albany, an event which took place December 3. 1521. Angus and his party, alarmed at his arrival, and remembering the fate of the Lord Home and his brother, made a precipitate retreat from Edinburgh, and took refuge in England. A new change of administration followed with little advantage to the unfortunate and ill-governed nation. Placing himself at the head of a party, which might be called the French interest in Scotland, Albany, ignorant of and indifferent to the real interests of his country, endeavoured so to rule the kingdom as might best serve the purposes of France, her powerful ally.

The flimsy species of peace with England, which had hitherto been maintained by ill-observed

truces did not prevent the most murderous and desolating ravages between the borderes on both sides. Albany appeared on the western frontier at the head of an army of eighty thousand men; but, cowardly in war as he was presuming in peace, having had a single interview with Lord Dacre, he consented to sheathe his sword, and omitted the opportunity of doing some considerable service, which was the rather to have been expected, as the king of England had no army on foot to encounter that of Scotland.

The regent, feeling himself a second time the object of general dislike and contempt, again escaped from the tumultuous scene, and retired to France, leaving a council of regency to sustain as well as they might the war which his rashness had awakened, and to collect as they best could the materials of defence which he had dissipated and thrown away. In the spring of 1523, Henry VIII. sent the earl of Surrey to the borders with a considerable army, to repay the threatened invasion of Albany. This enterprising general resolved to sweep the Scottish frontiers, and desolate them so effectually as to render them totally uninhabitable for nine miles beyond the border of England.

With this purpose he advanced upon Jedburgh, in spite of the opposition of about fifteen hundred borderers, who skirmished so boldly with

Surrey's vanguard, that he terms them the boldest and most ardent men at arms whose feats he ever witnessed, adding, that if forty thousand such soldiers could be assembled, it would be hard to withstand them. Driving this handful of Scots before him, Surrey reached Jedburgh, which was taken by storm, after a gallant defence. The fine abbey was also carried by assault, after it had been valiantly held out till late in the evening. The ruins still exhibit marks of the injuries which were then inflicted. This town, then rich and spacious, was set on fire by the English soldiery. But the victors were thrown into much confusion through the wilfulness of Lord Dacre, who commanded the cavalry. This nobleman did not choose to bring his horsemen within the fortified camp, which Surrey had appointed for his quarters. The consequence was, that in the evening the horse-quarter was surprised, and most of the horses cut loose from their picqueting. The animals, finding themselves at liberty, ran furiously past the fortified camp of Surrey, whose soldiers manned their defences, and, unable to discern the true cause of the alarm, shot both with bows and guns against the Scottish assailants as they thought. Many horses were carried off by the Scottish women, who fearlessly seized them in the scuffle. So many steeds were slain

or taken, that about a thousand English cavaliers were seen to walk afoot the next day.

While the two countries were thus engaged in fierce contention, both Scots and English were astonished to hear of Albany's return, with a small French army, in number betwixt four and five thousand men, and a quantity of arms and treasure. With this new display of wealth and auxiliaries the regent endeavoured to engage the Scottish nobles in a common effort against England, and he succeeded in obtaining a promise of firm support from the parliament. Including his French auxiliaries, Albany assembled a force estimated at 60,000 men. With this large army he formed the siege of Wark castle. (1523.) The assailants took the outer circuit of the castle, and attacked the keep; but the earl of Surrey advancing from Barmoor wood, the duke of Albany shamefully raised the siege, and retreated at the head of his well appointed and numerous army, which he soon after dismissed. He retired to Edinburgh, and having dissipated the treasures which he brought with him, and shown to a demonstration his unfitness to command an army, he made his final retreat to France, loaded with the curses and reproaches of the nation from which he derived his ancestry.

After the flight of Albany the English interest once more began to predominate in the Scottish

councils; for Henry VIII. had again adopted his father's policy, and instead of endeavouring to conquer Scotland, and render it a part of his dominions by dint of arms, was contented to aim at maintaining such an influence in the councils of that country as a wealthy and powerful nation may always find means of acquiring in the government of one that is poorer and weaker than herself. The present revolution seemed the more favourable to the interest of England, since it raised Margaret once more to an efficient power in the Scottish government. She came from Stirling to Edinburgh, and announced that her son, James V., now a boy of twelve years old, was determined to take the sovereign power into his own hands. A great many of the Scottish peers, upon hearing this information, associated themselves for protection of the young king's government, and for declaring the termination of Albany's regency. It was clear, notwithstanding, as the independent government of a boy of twelve years old could be only nominal, that James's councils must be guided and directed by some familiar advice, and nothing could be more natural than that he should find that counsellor in an affectionate mother.

The English king and his minister Wolsey at this crisis anxiously desired that Margaret would

consent to a reconciliation with her husband Angus, in whose attachment to the interests of England they had great confidence, and whose masculine judgment they supposed to be necessary in aiding the queen-dowager to support the weight of government. But the passions of Margaret had some of the fickleness and all the impetuosity of her brother's.

She retained a deep resentment and even detestation against her husband, and gave her brother plainly to understand, that any attempt to intrude Angus on her society, or even the granting him licenses to return from England, would forfeit Henry's share of the interest which the last revolution had given her in the affairs of Scotland. The truth was, that Margaret with an unmatronly levity had become enamoured of a young gentleman named Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew Lord Evandale, and already entertained hopes of ridding herself of Angus by a divorse, and then conferring her hand upon this younger favourite. In the meantime she raised the favoured youth to the dignity of lord treasurer of Scotland. By such light conduct Margaret alienated the affections of the nobles, while she increased their discontent by excluding them from her councils, and listening only to the advice of her lover, and other inexperienced young men.

Blaming the conduct of his sister, and expecting a more firm support from the government of Angus, whose misfortunes might be supposed to have taught him wisdom, Henry now countenanced the return of the earl, in hopes that he might still be able to effect some reconciliation, ostensible at least, between him and the queen This was found totally impossible; and Angus, having determined to destroy his wife's power if he could not share it, attempted to supplant her authority, first by an escalade of the town of Edinburgh, in which he was assisted by Scott of Buccleuch, and other border chiefs, and afterwards by an union with the wily and able archbishop Beaton, with whom he effected a reconciliation, and formed a party, the object of which was to free the young king from the tutelage of his mother. The struggle ended in the youthful monarch's being committed to the charge of a council of lords, the queen being allowed to preside at their sittings, a power which consisted in appearance rather than reality.

This revolution was completed, when the king, having arrived at the age of fourteen years, made choice of Angus, who had, by the most sedulous attention, obtained great influence over his mind, for administering the royal authority. But this state of things by degrees terminated in

the absolute ascendency of Angus. As some atonement to the imprudent queen for having thus expelled her from all share of power, he ceased to oppose the divorce which Margaret so anxiously desired, and no sooner was it obtained than the royal matron hastened to wed her youthful lover, Henry Stuart, who was afterwards created Lord Methven.

When Angus had attained the supreme power, which had been so long the object of his ambition, the use which he made of it was not corresponding to the sagacity he had displayed in the acquisition. He gave far greater attention to supporting and providing for his own friends and followers than to ruling the kingdom at large with justice and equity; and his relations and clansmen felt so much their own licence and impunity, that it was currently said, that, whatever complaints were brought respecting actions of theft, rapine, and slaughter, it was useless and dangerous to insist on them, if a Douglas or the dependant of a Douglas were one of the parties inculpated. And although the earl of Angus and the lords of his faction made progresses through the country under pretence of administering justice, and putting down oppressors and murderers, «yet," says honest Pitscottie, « there were no greater homicides and

felons to be found than those who rode in their own company."

The government of Angus being that of a predominant family and faction, was not only universally complained of as unjust and oppressive by the country in which it was exercised, but became odious to the king also, in whose name and authority it was carried on. Angus, as we have already said, had at first conciliated the good will of the youthful king, by making himself the channel through which James received all the presents which Henry VIII. used occasionally to send to his nephew, and by carefully studying his taste, in order to anticipate and comply with his inclinations; but when the earl became established in his authority, he began to exercise it without regard to the wishes of the young monarch, and often in direct contradiction to them. In this Angus was guided by the councils of his brother sir George, a man of a fiery and haughty temper, who preferred governing by fear and contraint rather than by fair means and flattery.

This order of things could not exist long without the king making some effort to free himself from a yoke which was at once galling and degrading; but such was the state of Scotland at that period, that the king's person was regarded as the symbol of the royal power; and

while Angus could retain possession of James himself he cared little whether or not he possessed the royal affections. The young king, however, determined in secret to escape from him at whatever risk, and entered into more than one plot for accomplishing his freedom.

The first of these attempts exploded at Melrose on the 25th of July (1526). Angus had brought the king thither with the purpose of quelling some recent disturbances on the frontier; but on leaving the town, and approaching the bridge in his return, he was encountered by sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, at the head of a thousand horse. His purpose being demanded, the chieftain replied that he came like other border-men to show his followers to the king, and to invite him to his house. He added, that he knew the king's mind as well as Angus. A smart action immediately took place, in which the Scotts were defeated with the loss of eighty men; but many were also killed on the opposite side, in particular sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, whose slaughter made a long and deadly feud betwixt these two powerful clans.

It was generally suspected that the enterprise of Buccleuch had been instigated by Lennox, who, now retiring from the court, entered into a league with chancellor Beaton, whom the predominance of Angus had nearly reduced to in-

significance as a member of the administration, and to whom, of course, the power of the Douglases was obnoxious. The queen-mother seems also to have entered into the views of the party. Lennox, who was universally esteemed and beloved, raised a considerable army, and advanced towards Edinburgh from the westward. It is probable that Lennox was in hope of obtaining the support of the earl of Arran on this occasion; he was Lennox's uncle, and the ancient rival of Angus. But their strife had been appeased since the battle of Cleanse the Causeway, and Arran drew out his forces in support of Angus, and not in opposition to him He marched towards Lennox at the head of a body of men equal to that of the insurgents. The armies met: Lennox and his host arrived in the neighbourhood of Kirkliston, and Angus rushed out from Edinburgh to support Arran. Sir George Douglas followed, bringing with him the young king in person, and the citizens of Edinburgh. Observing the king's great unwillingness to proceed, as the noise of the artillery on both sides now apprised them that the conflict was hotly maintained, « I read your majesty's thoughts," said the stern Douglas; « but do not deceive yourself. If your enemies had hold of you on one side, and we on the other, we would tear you asunder, rather than

quit our hold : " — rash words, which the king never forgave.

On reaching the field of battle, they found the victory was with Angus. Lennox, after having been taken, was slain by sir James Hamilton the bastard, whose sanguinary temper has been alreadymentioned. Arran was mourning beside the dead body of his nephew, over which he had laid his scarlet cloak, «The best," he said, «the wisest, the bravest man in Scotland lies here slain."

The insurrection agaiust Angus's government being thus a second time quelled, the chancellor, after lurking for some time among the hills in the disguise of a shepherd, was compelled to purchase peace by a copious distribution of ready money, and surrender of ecclesiastical benefices in favour of the prevailing party. The young king obtained by his intercession some favour for his mother; and the authority of Angus became more despotic, and was stronger than ever. This ambitious earl shortly after took upon himself the office of chancellor, and surrounded the king even more closely than before with his clients and dependants, whom James felt now tempted to regard as his gaolers rather than his servants. Wherever he turned, his eye lighted on the dark complexion and vigilant eye of a Douglas. Douglas of Parkhead commanded a

guard of one hundred men, rather to control the king's motions than to defend his person. His minister Angus never stirred from his presence, or if he did, he left him under the yet more stern custody of his brother, sir George Douglas.

The young monarch was compelled to dissemble and appear satisfied with his situation, in order to disarm the vigilance of those by whom he was thus closely watched. This device succeeded so well, that the Douglases, conceiving the king to be altogether occupied with sylvan sports and amusements, lost a part of the jealousy with which they regarded his motions.

In the beginning of July, the king being at Falkland, his whole attention apparently engrossed by the sport of hunting, Angus took the opportuuity to look after some of his private affairs in Lothian. George Douglas also left Falkland to settle the terms of some beneficial leases which he was to obtain from the bishop of Saint Andrew's. Archibald Douglas, the uncle of the earl of Angus, left the court for Dundee, to pursue, it was said, an intrigue with a paramour; so that the custody of the king's person was confided to Douglas of Parkhead, with his body-guard of a hundred gentlemen. The king saw the opportunity favourable for his escape. He appointed a particularly solemn hunting

match for the next morning, and repeatedly commanded his guard to be in attendance at an early hour. But he had no sooner retired to rest than he assumed the dress of a yeoman, and getting to the stables unperceived, mounted with two attendants, whom he had taken into his confidence, and galloped to Stirling. The governor of the strong castle, which commands that town, received the prince wtih great joy, and assured him of his personal fidelity. But James's apprehensions of the Douglases were still so great, that, fatigued as he was with his long and midnight ride, he would not go to sleep until the keys of the castle were laid beneath his pillow, to ensure that no one might enter without his knowledge or consent.

The Douglases early on the morrow perceived the flight of their royal captive, and anticipated the downfal of the power which they had so long enjoyed. They agreed, however, to ride in a body to Stirling, and put a bold face upon the matter. But when the king heard of their approach, he caused a solemn proclamation to be made, commanding that neither the earl of Angus nor any of his kindred should approach within six miles of the king's person under the pain of high treason.

A parliament was thercafter assembled, in which Angus and his whole friends and depen-

dants were summoned to answer for various abuses of the royal authority, and for keeping the king's person nearly two years under restraint. To defend themselves was impossible, — to appear was to encounter ruin; the earl of Angus and his followers, therefore, retreated into England, being secure of the mediation of Henry VIII. with his incensed nephew. Unfortunately, the earl did not deign to take this necessary step without offering some semblance of defending himself by arms. He garrisoned his castle of Tantallon, and taking the field with a gallant body of cavalry, seemed disposed to bid defiance to his youthful king. James hastened to lay siege to the castle (1528); but it defied his forces. He was obliged to retreat from before it with dishonour; and Angus, attacking the rear of the royal army, added to the disgrace by killing one David Falconer, a favourite officer of James. It was in vain that the earl of Angus showed much moderation, and forbore to seize on the royal train of artillery which were in his power. James remembered with deep resentment the wrongs which he had received, and felt no gratitude for those which his disobedient subject had refrained from inflicting. He swore in his anger that no Douglas should, while he lived and reigned, find favour or countenance in Scotland. It was pity that James V. should have in

this manner bound himself up from exercising his prerogative of pardon; for, says one old historian, no friend of the Douglases, «I cannot find that the earl of Angus, or any of that kindred, failed to the king in any part, since, although they were covetous. greedy, and oppressive of their neighbours, yet were they ever true, kind, and serviceable to the king in all his affairs, and oft times offered their persons to jeopardy for his sake.»

The earl of Angus, seeing the king so decidedly determined against him, ceased his unavailing resistance, and retired with his brother and kinsman. Henry VIII. used much intercession in the earl's favour; but it was not until the death of James that the Douglases were restored to their native country of Scotland.

In the elevation of the house of Angus to eminent power, and in its fall, there was something which resembled the rise and declension of the original house of Douglas in the reign of James II. But the second course of events were far inferior in consequence to those of the earlier revolution. The power which the earl of Angus possessed flowed from his wielding the king's authority and acting in the royal name. He was, it is true, an overgrown minister, who controlled the person and thwarted the inclinations of his sovereign; but still the power which

he abused was that of a minister only, as appeared from the almost unresisted fall of the family as soon as they were deprived of the custody of the king's person. The last earl of Douglas, on the contrary, had bid the king defiance in open rebellion; assembled an army as large as that of James II.; and there was no guessing to which side victory might have inclined, had the earl given the monarch battle as a rival for his throne.

The natural inference is, that since, with every advantage of a minority and a divided cabinet, with as much ambition and more talents than Douglas, Angus had neither been able to found his power so deeply or to raise it so high, the precautions taken by James the second for repealing grants of crown-lands, for prohibiting or limiting the erection of hereditary jurisdictions, and otherwise restricting the powers of the nobility, had taken a certain though slow effect, and that James V. possessed a degree of authority unknown to the Scottish princes before these restrictions undermined the power of the aristocracy.

The slaughter of Flodden, where twelve earls, thirteen lords, and the eldest sons of five noble families lay on the field, tended much to reduce the numbers of the Scottish aristocracy, and

increase the power of the crown, to which many of their honours and estates reverted.

It is owing to the influence of these joint causes that James V. assumed a degree of self-agency, which, in the opinion of the Scottish nobles, the monarch was hardly entitled to; that, unlike his father James the fourth, he did not seem to court their regard, or employ their service, but sought his companions amongst the gentry, and his counsellors among the clergy, without, for a length of time, experiencing any inconvenience from the discontent of those who claimed by birth the right to share his sports and participate in the exercise of his power.

CHAPTER XXIII.

James V. chastises the borders. — Introduces cultivation and good order. — Institutes the college of justice. — Short war with England. — Friendship restored. — James temporises with Henry. — Marries Magdalen of France. — Her early death. — James weds Mary of Guise. — Sentence of lady Glamis. — Burning of several heretics. — Sadler's embassy. — James's wise government. — His faults. — He is of a severe temper, and addicted to favouritism. — His expedition to the Scottish isles. — Character of sir James Hamilton of Draphane, and his execution. — Death of the two infant sons of James. — Considered as ominous. — Severe laws against heresy. — Critical position of James on the approaching war between France and England. — He offends Henry by disappointing him at the proposed interview. — War with England. — Battle of Haddon-rig. — The Scottish nobles at Fala muir refuse to advance with the king. — Incursion on the west border. — Route of Solway-moss. — James V. dies of a broken heart.

JAMES V. having, as mentioned in the last chapter, obtained the unlimited exercise of the royal authority, became desirous of reducing to order the formidable border-men, who, under the earl

of Angus', had been permitted to indulge themselves uncontrolled in all kinds of violence. The king swept through the frontiers with a flying army, reducing the castles, and seizing upon the persons of those haughty chieftains, many of whom had no conception that the irregularities of which they and their people had been guilty were of a character to deserve the capital punishment of death, which was unsparingly executed upon them. John Armstrong of Gilnockie, Adam Scott of Tushielaw, called the king of the border, and Piers Cockburn of Henderland, were among the border chiefs who perished on this memorable occasion. Having thus succeeded in quelling the authors of foreign strife and domestic disorder so effectually as to make "the bush of rushes keep the cow," James V. proceeded to occupy the crown lands, in the countries which had been so lately disturbed, with flocks and herds, the produce of which formed a large addition to his royal revenue on the borders.

After this signal infliction of punishment, it is boasted by a contemporary historian that the king had 30,000 sheep pasturing in Ettricke forest, and that his herdsman gave him as good an account of the produce, although in that disorderly district, as if they had gone within the bounds of Fife. Scotland seems to have

enjoyed several years of such tranquillity as seldom occurs in the history of that distracted country. James, resenting the recollections of his sufferings under the tutelage of Angus, did not greatly use the services of his nobles, being disgusted with their ignorance and arrogance. He employed the talents of the rlergy more freely; and they thus attained an influence over his mind which deterred him from joining the party of the reformers, to which he had originally shown some inclination.

In the year 1531, James V. gave to his country of Scotland the institution of the supreme court of council and session, which was framed in imitation of the parliament of Paris. Hitherto justice had been administered by standing committees of parliament, by whom the duty was irregularly and sometimes negligently discharged. These were now to give place to a court of professional persons, chosen with reference to their capacity for the high office, and having no occupation which might divert them from the administration of justice. The court possessed the supreme power of decision in all civil cases, and subsists to this day under the various alterations and improvements which the experience of three centuries has suggested. The number of the judges of the new court of session was fifteen, one half of them being laymen, and the others

clergymen. The churchmen were taxed to defray the expense of the new establishment.

In 1533, a short and unimportant war broke out with England. It was signalised only by mutual inroads on the frontiers, and ended by a peace between the royal uncle and nephew; after which James received from Henry the order of the Garter. At this period Henry VIII., from motives well known in history, had renounced the papal sway, and became particularly anxious to induce his nephew to take a similar step. It is even said that, to purchase his compliance, Henry would have been contented that James should become the husband of his eldest daughter Mary, with other high advantages. He was pressing by his letters and messengers to have a personal interview appointed with his nephew, over whom he no doubt hoped to exercise that superiority which the powerful possesses over the comparatively weak sovereign, the rich over the poor, the aged over the young, and, as Henry doubtless supposed, the wise over the less strong-minded. But James, though desirous to be on good terms with his uncle, could not resolve upon imitating him in his scheme of throwing off the dominion of the church of Rome. He had, indeed, listened with a smile to those lighter pieces of satire which reflected upon the per-

sonal character of the priests; a subject on which the catholic church has never manifested great irritability. But he was not prepared to resign any part of those doctrines which had been interwoven with his earliest ideas. The clergy, who were so useful to him in the course of his administration, had undoubtedly considerable influence in deterring him from following the courses of Henry. James also, though far from being wealthy, was so frugal as not to require for the support of his revenue the desperate measure of confiscating the church property. Finally, he felt that by joining with Henry in a step which all the princes of Europe held as impious and heretical, he must break off his friendly connection with France and every other power, to place himself wholly in the hands of the most haughty and imperious monarch then living. He procrastinated, therefore, and evaded the proposal for a meeting, well knowing that if such an appointment did not produce all the effects which Henry desired and expected, it must necessarily destroy his amicable relations with England. These ties James desired to preserve in their present state, but did not wish to draw them closer.

The same reasons prevented the king from prosecuting the proposed match with the princess Mary. Meantime his people anxiously desired

that he should marry, Years rolled on, and James, the last of his line, was still single. His subjects were the more anxious on this point, as he often hazarded his person in private and nocturnal adventures, which he undertook sometimes to further the purposes of justice, and on other occasions from the love of enterprise and intrigue. A blow in a midnight brawl might have again reduced Scotland to the miserable condition of a people with whom the succession to the crown is disputed.

At length a treaty of marriage was concluded between the king of Scotland and Marie de Bourbon, a daughter of the duke of Vendome (1536.). James undertook a journey to France to fetch home his betrothed bride. But when he arrived in that kingdom he was dissatisfied with the choice of his ambassador, and Magdalen, the princess of France, was substituted for Marie de Bourbon. They were married in great splendour on the 1st of January, and embarked in the beginning of May for the port of Leith, in Scotland, where they were received with great rejoicings, which within forty days were to be turned into the signs of mourning. Magdalen the young queen of Scotland carried in her constitution the seeds of a hectic fever, which, within that brief space, removed her from her new kingdom and royal bridegroom (July 7. 1537.).

Her vacant place on the throne was soon afterwards filled by Mary of Guise, the most celebrated queen of Scotland; excepting her daughter Mary Stewart, still more famed for beauty and misfortune. This lady bore to her husband two healthy male children, both of whom died within a few days of each other during James's lifetime. Mary, the third offspring of the marriage, beheld the light for the first time at the period of her father's death (1542.).

Throughout the whole of this reign the banished Douglases, from their place of exile in England, intrigued among the Scottish nobility, who saw with displeasure that the king preferred the assistance of the churchmen to theirs in the management of his political affairs. During the life of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, the king used his approved talents in the administration; and at his death in 1539 he had called to his councils his nephew David Beaton, afterwards cardinal and primate of Scotland. He was supposed to have been peculiarly connected with the following judicial proceedings: the son of Lord Forbes was accused of treason by the earl of Huntley, tried by the court of justiciary, and suffered death. In like manner Jane Douglas, the sister of Angus, widow of the late Lord Glamis, mother of the youth who bore the title at the time, and wife

of Archibald Campbell of Kepneith, was, with her present husband, her son, and certain accomplices, accused of and tried for an attempt to hasten the king's death by the imaginary crime of witchcraft. For this offence lady Glamis suffered death at the stake, on the castle hill of Edinburgh. She was much pitied on account of her noble birth, her distinguished grace and beauty, and the courage with which she endured her cruel punishment. The Scottish historians throw reflections upon James for giving vent to his resentment against the Douglases in the punishment of this lady: but her crimes appear to have been fully proved; and although the idea of taking away the life of others by acts of sorcery be now exploded, yet it is well known that in the dark ages the effect of the unhallowed rites was often accelerated by the administration of poison; not to mention that those who engaged in such a conspiracy were morally, though not actually, guilty of the crime of murder. The punishment of lady Glamis by fire was cruel, doubtless; but the cruelty was that of the age, not of the sovereign. Her husband Campbell was killed by a fall in attempting an escape from the castle of Edinburgh in which he was a prisoner.

The same horrible mode of punishment undergone by lady Glamis was, during James's reign,

unsparingly applied to the restraint of heresy. In the year 1528 a young man of good birth, named Patrick Hamilton, the first person who introduced the doctrines of Luther's reformation into Scotland, sealed them by his violent death, which took place at St. Andrew's. The king, being then under the tutelage of the Douglases, cannot be charged with this act of cruelty; but the execution of seven persons, in the year 1539, attested his assent to these bloody and impolitic inflictions. It is however certain, that in permitting the established laws of the realm to have their course, James by no means appeared satisfied either with the frequent repetition of such exhibitions, or with the conduct of the churchmen themselves. He evinced in several particulars a bias favourable to the reformed doctrines; and his uncle Henry VIII., confiding in these hopeful indications, continued to entertain considerable hopes of drawing over his nephew to follow his own example.

Sir Ralph Sadler, a statesman of great talent, and no stranger to Scotland, was despatched with a present of some horses and the delicate task of prevailing on James to dismiss such of his ministers as were catholic priests, especially cardinal David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and of exhorting him at the same time to seize on the property of the church, and

to reform the morals of the churchmen by severe correction. The old proposal of a personal conference was again renewed. King James answered with mildness to the urgency of his uncle. He declared he would reform the abuses of the church, but that he could not justly or conscientiously make these a pretext for seizing on its property, especially since the churchmen were willing to supply him with such sums of money as he from time to time required. The candour of Sadler owned to his master that the king of Scotland was obliged to make use of the clergy in the public service, owing to the ignorance and incapacity of his nobility.

During all these transactions the personal character of James V. appears in a favourable light. He did not indeed escape the charge of severity usually brought against princes who endeavour to restore the current of justice to its proper channel after it has been for some time interrupted. But his reign was distinguished by acts of personal intrepidity on the part of the sovereign; as well as by an economical and sage management of the revenues of the kingdom. James encouraged fisheries, wrought mines, cultivated waste lands, and understood and protected commerce. The palaces which he built are in a beautiful though singular style of architecture; and the productions

of his mint, particularly that called the bonnet-piece, because it bears James's head surmounted by the national cap, is the most elegant specimen of gold coinage which the age affords. The sculptor of the die was probably some foreign medallist whom James had induced to settle in Scotland, and who died young. Had so excellent an artist lived for any considerable period he must have distinguished himself.

James, in proportion to his means, was liberal to foreign mechanics, by whose aid he hoped to encourage the arts among his ignorant people. The court of Scotland was gay, and filled with persons of accomplishment. Himself a poet, the king gave all liberal indulgence to the Muses, and does not seem to have resented the shafts of satire which were sometimes aimed against the royal gallantries or the royal parsimony.

With many virtues, James V. displayed few faults, but these were of a fatal character. We cannot reckon amongst them his unwillingness to receive a form of faith unknown to his fathers; but his rejection of the Reformation may be safely accounted amongst his misfortunes. The license which he gave to the vindictive persecution of the protestants seems to have originated in that personal severity of temper already noticed. His inexorable hatred

of the Douglases partakes of the same character. No recollection of early familiarity, no degree of personal merit would induce him to extend any favour to an individual of that detested name. His dislike to or contempt for his nobility led to his admitting favourites into his society, on whom his countenance was too exclusively conferred. Among these minions, the most distinguished was Oliver Sinclair, a youth of noble descent, but to whom the king too indiscriminately extended the favour which he withheld from men of eminent rank.

(1540.) In this year James V. undertook an expedition truly worthy of a patriotic sovereign, making, with a strong fleet and a sufficient body of troops, a circumnavigation of his whole realm of Scotland, acquainting himself with the various islands, harbours, capes, currents, and tides. In the Hebrides he took hostages from the most turbulent chiefs for the quiet behaviour of their clans, which bore in general the same denominations which they have at this day, as M'Donalds, M'Leods, M'Leans, M'Kenzies, and others. In this expedition the king showed to the most remote part of his dominions the presence of their sovereign in R position both willing and able to support the dignity of the crown and the due administration of justice, striking a salutary terror into those heads of

clans who were unwilling to acknowledge a higher authority than their own. James sailed from Leith on this praiseworthy expedition about the 22d May, and landed at Dumbarton in the course of July, 1540, after a voyage which, in that early state of navigation, was not without its dangers.

We have repeatedly mentioned sir James Hamilton as a man of determined courage, but of a blood-thirsty and remorseless disposition. He was a base-born son of the earl of Arran, the same whose violence precipitated the skirmish called Cleanse the Causeway, and who slew the earl of Lennox in cold blood after the battle, near Kirkliston, betwixt Angus and his father. This man, usually called the Bastard of Arran, and sometimes Lord Evandale, at one time stood high in the favour of James V., and obtained the estates of Draphane, Finnart, and others. He owed this distinction partly perhaps to his well-known character for determined courage, partly to a taste for architecture by which he was distinguished. The king seems to have used his talents in the rebuilding and ornamenting the palaces of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Falkland, in each of which may be remarked an elegant and highly ornamented style of architecture, being a mixture of the Gothic and classical style, like that which predominated

in England in Elizabeth's reign. But having lost the king's favour when he advanced in years, sir James Hamilton was accused of having entered into a conspiracy for restoring the Douglases (though his own hereditary enemies) by means of a plot on the king's life. For this he was convicted, and suffered death at Edinburgh (Aug. 26. 1540). His accuser was a brother of Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr. It is said sir James Hamilton had been a violent persecutor of the protestant faith.

In 1541 James met with a great and poignant family affliction. The two male infants, borne to him by his wife Mary of Guise, were both cut off by sudden illness within a few days of each other. The protestants recorded this as a judgment against the king for permitting the persecution of their faith, and their writers record an ominous dream of the king, in which the spectre of sir James Hamilton appeared to James in the visions of the night, and striking off his two arms while he upbraided him with his cruelty, announced that he would speedily return and take his head. The superstition of Mary of Guise, a devoted daughter of the church of Rome, took a different direction; and the king might perhaps agree with her and the priests in concluding that their family calamity arose from the vengeance of heaven expressed

against him for his slowness in extirpating heresy. At least, from the tenour of his measures at this time, such seems to have been his own interpretation of this severe visitation.

The statute-book at this period contains various severe denunciations against heresy. To argue against the pope's authority is declared punishable with death, and all discussion on the subject of religion is as far as possible prohibited. Suspected heretics are declared incapable of exercising any affice; nay, such as may even have abjured their errors of faith are still to remain excluded from conversation with catholics. Fugitives for their religious opinions are held as condemned; all correspondence with them is prohibited; and rewards are offered for their discovery. These severe penal enactments sufficiently show the sense of cardinal Beaton, their author, that the protestant opinions were penetrating deeply into Scotland, and could in his opinion only be eradicated by the most active measures. But in proportion as the severity increased, the prohibited doctrines seemed to gain ground; and the Scottish clergymen saw no remedy except in the dangerous expedient of engaging James V. in a war with England; the monarch of which kingdom had led the way in the great northern schism of the church.

The situation of James V. now became extremely critical. Whatever might be the king's own moderation, there seemed almost an impossibility of his remaining neutral while France and England were hastening to a rupture; and there were weighty reasons for dreading the consequences, whichever party he might embrace. If he became the close and inseparable ally of his uncle, he must comply with that impetuous prince in all his humours, alter the religious constitution of his country after the example of England, confiscate the possessions of the church, to the prejudice of his own ideas of religion and justice, and discharge Beaton and other counsellors by whose experienced talents he had hitherto conducted his administration. He felt also that these sacrifices, which must necessarily cost him the esteem and the alliance both of France and of Germany, would be made for the chance of securing the doubtful friendship of an uncle who, amid all his professions of friendship, had constantly maintained within his kingdom the exiled family of Douglas, whom James not only peculiarly hated, but whom, from their extensive connections in Scotland, he had some reason to dread.

On the other hand, to refuse Henry's proffers of friendship must expose the hingdom of

Scotland to a misfortune similar to that of his father at Flodden; or, if he escaped such an overwhelming calamity, must give him still to fear the consequences of a war for which the disaffection of his nobles rendered him, notwithstanding all his own efforts to the contrary, very much unprepared. In its course it was likely to be the occasion of forming, under the patronage of the English monarch, a strong faction of malcontents in Scotland, partly united by the new views of religion which had been so generally adopted, and partly by alliance or intimacy on the part of some Scottish nobles, with Angus and the banished Douglases.

The king was warmly urged by a new embassy from Henry VIII. to come to a decisive conclusion on these difficult points, when, worn out by importunity, he gave a doubtful promise, that, if the affairs of his kingdom permitted, he would meet his uncle at York for the purpose of arranging an amicable settlement. Henry, who thought highly of his own arts of eloquence and persuasion, and who appears to have founded extravagant hopes on the influence which he might expect to gain by this personal interview, repaired to York, and remained there for six days, expecting the arrival of king James. The king of Scotland, however, aware that to meet Henry without being prepared to concede

to him every thing which he desired would only precipitate a rupture, excused himself for not attending upon the conference; and Henry returned to London, personally offended with James, and eagerly desirous of revenge. The chastisement of the king of Scotland became now as favourite an object with Henry as the conversion of James to his own opinions on religion and politics had previously been.

At length, after a variety of petty incursions, the war broke out openly, and sir Robert Bowes, with the banished Douglases. entered Scotland at the head of three thousand cavalry (1542). They were encountered near Haddon-rig by the earl of Huntley, to whom James had intrusted the defence of the border. The English were defeated, and left their general and many inferior leaders prisoners in the hands of their enemies. Angus himself would have shared the same fate, but he rid himself of the knight who laid hands on him by employing his dagger.

James was highly encouraged by this fortunate commencement of the campaign, and made a donation of the lands of Hirsel to sir Andrew Ker of Littledean, who brought him the first news of the victory. But he was now doomed to find that he had made shipwreck of his popularity in lending his countenance to the severities against the heretics, as they were

termed, and in excluding from his favour the nobility of the kingdom. The presence of an English army under the duke of Norfolk, which entering the Scottish frontier, had burned the towns of Kelso and Roxburgh and nearly twenty villages, compelled him to summon an army to repel the invasion.

The Scottish king, therefore, assembled thirty thousand men, under their various feudal leaders, upon the Borough-moor, and marched from thence against the enemy. But as the Scottish army halted at Fala-muir, they received information that the English had retired to Berwick, and dismissed the greater part of their forces.

The Scottish nobles, on receiving this intelligence, united in declaring that the occasion of their service in arms was ended, signified their intention to attend the host no longer, and prepared to depart with their respective followers. The king was deeply grieved and irritated by this unexpected resolution. Henry had insulted him by the threat that he had still the same rod in keeping which had chastised his father. By that rod the duke of Norfolk was intimated, who, while yet earl of Surrey, commanded at Flodden, where James IV. fell. His son and successor highly resented this reference to his father's misfortunes; and now,

when the duke was within a few miles distance of him, and he himself at the head of an army numerous enough to second his desire of revenge, it was with peculiar pain that he saw himself deserted by his nobility, when he most desired their cordial support. There was, however, no remedy: in a Scottish feudal camp the aristocracy were omnipotent, the king's power merely nominal; and to have urged the dispute to an open rupture would only have incurred the risk of reviving the scene of Lauder Bridge in James III's time. For the leaders began to whisper to each other, that rather than indulge the king's humour for an impolitic war, they would hang up the evil counsellors who had suggested the idea to him. Rewarding, therefore, with heraldic honours John Scott of Thirlestane *, the only baron in that large host who offered to follow his banner, James dismissed his refractory army, when it was about to dismiss itself, and returned so deeply moved with shame and indignation, that he not only lost his spirits, but his health was obviously affected.

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* He added the royal tressure to his arms, and assigned for his crest a bundle of spears with the motto „Ready, aye ready." Lord Napier is the representative of this family.

The royal counsellors endeavoured to find a remedy for James's wounded feelings by appointing another attempt to be made against England on the western border, the success of which might, they hoped, obliterate the recollection of the mutiny at Fala. The Lord Maxwell was appointed to command ten thousand men; but though Maxwell was himself a counsellor and favourite of the king, they were injudiciously composed of the followers of Cassilis, Glencairn, and other westland nobles, amongst whom the Reformation had made considerable progress, and who were proportionally disgusted with the war, which they regarded as undertaken at the instigation and to serve the interest of the papal clergy. This may in part account for the extraordinary scene which followed.

Maxwell's army had assembled, and advanced as far as the western border, when it was drawn up in order, and Oliver Sinclair was raised on a buckler for the purpose of reading the commission intrusting Lord Maxwell with the command of the army (1542). The ill-timed introduction of this unpopular minion in a situation and duty so ostensible occasioned a belief that the commission which he read was in his own favour; and as this rumour gained ground a general confusion prevailed, and many, who

did not choose to fight under the command of so unpopular a general, began to leave their ranks and return homeward. Dacre and Musgrave, two chiefs of the English borderers, who had come to watch the motions of the Scottish army, were witnesses of the strange and apparently causeless scene of confusion which it exhibited. Without knowing the cause, they took advantage of the effect, and charged with a degree of courage and determination which changed the confusion of the enemy into flight, and in many cases into surrender; for a great number of the chiefs and nobles chose rather to become the prisoners of the English leaders, than to escape to their own country and meet the displeasure of their offended monarch. The whole Scottish force dispersed without stroke of sword, and the victors made many prisoners.

King James had advanced to the border, that he might earlier receive intelligence from the army. But when he learned the news of a rout so dishonourable as that of Solway, the honour of his kingdom and the reputation of his arms were, he thought, utterly and irredeemably lost, and his proud spirit refused to survive the humiliation. He removed from the border to Edinburgh, and from thence to Falkland, his deep melancholy still increasing, and mixing itself with the secret springs of life. At length

his powers of digestion totally failed. It was in this disconsolate condition that a messenger, who came to acquaint James V, that his queen, then at Linlithgow, was delivered of a daughter, found him to whom he brought the news. «Is it so?» said the expiring monarch, reflecting on the throne; «then God's will be done. It came with a lass, and will go with a lass.» With these words, presaging the extinction of his house, he made a signal of adieu to his followers and courtiers, and expired (Dec. 14. 1542).

CHAPTER XXIV.

Proposed marriage between Mary of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales. — The earl of Arran regent. – An English party formed. — Henry VIII's demands. -- Successful intrigues of cardinal Beaton. — The treaty with England broken. — Incursions of the English. — Battle of Ancram-moor. — Martyrdom of Wisheart. — Murder of cardinal Beaton. — Battle of Pinkie. — Treaty of marriage between Mary and the Dauphin of France. — She is sent over into France. — Arran is induced to resign the government, and the queen-mother is declared regent. — Peace with England. — The queen-regent's partiality for France. — Her dissensions with the Scottish nobles. — Her proposal for a standing army is rejected. — Progress of the protestant doctrines. — Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrew's. — Claim of queen Mary to the crown of England. — Bold answer of the protestants to a citation of the queen-regent. — Death of five commissioners sent to France. — The queen-regent resolves to subdue the protestants, who take arms. — Treaties of accommodation are

repeatedly broken. — The reformers destroy the monastic buildings. — The treaty of Perth violated, and the protestants take arms. — They advance to Edinburgh. — The queen-regent fortifies Leith. — The lords of the congregation promulgate a resolution that she has forfeited her office of regent.

THUS was Scotland, by the death of an accomplished king, having only attained his thirty-first year, reduced once more to one of those long minorities which are the bane of her history, and which, in the present case, brought even more than the usual amount of misfortune.

The Scots, involved in a national war which had no national object, were, upon the decease of James V., willingly disposed to address Henry in a pacific tone, in which they reminded him that they now spoke in behalf of their infant queen, his own near relation, who could have wronged no one, since she did not as yet know good from evil.

Henry VIII. is said to have evinced some kind feelings towards the memory of his unfortunate nephew: he shed a tear over Jame's fate, and imputed his errors to evil counsellors. Monarchs, however, have little leisure to indulge in senti-

mental sorrows. The king of England soon lost the recollection of his nephew's faults and merits in considering how the events which had happened could be rendered available to the increase of his own territories and authority. The road to the conquest of Scotland might, to a sanguine prince, appear to lie open; but it had been repeatedly attempted from the time of Severus downwards, and had never been found practicable. The impetuous temper of Henry VIII. was, therefore, forced to stoop to the plan adopted by Edward I. ere the death of the Maid of Norway compelled his ambition to wear a sterner and more undisguised shape. A matrimonial alliance betwixt the young heiress of Scotland and his son, afterwards Edward VI., promised the English monarch all the advantages of conquest without either risk or odium. With this purpose he kept his eyes bent earnestly on the affairs of Scotland, to seize, as fast as they should occur, all means of furthering so desirable an object.

The government of the kingdom was claimed by the late prime minister, cardinal Beaton, in virtue of a testament of the deceased king, which, however, was universally regarded as a forgery perpetrated by that ambitious churchman. He had, as before mentioned, succeeded his uncle, the turbulent archbishop of

Glasgow, in James's councils, and was esteemed the author of most of the deceased king's unpopular measures, especially those in persecution of heresy. The nobles, who had no mind to perpetuate the power under which they had long groaned, unanimously rejected the claim, and preferred that of the earl of Arran, representative of the house of Hamilton, and next heir to the Scottish crown, who was recognised accordingly as regent. Beaton was made prisoner by order of the regent, and detained in a species of honourable captivity, to prevent his embroiling the new government by the intrigues of which he was master; and thus the earl of Arran was placed at the head of affairs.

To this nobleman Henry addressed himself for the purpose of accomplishing the matrimonial treaty which he had so much at heart (Mar. 15. 1542). He did not neglect the obvious precaution of securing an interest and a party in the Scottish parliament (1543). With this view the English ministers were directed to cultivate the intimacy of the various Scottish nobles and persons of rank who had been so strangely made prisoners at the rout of Solway-moss. Among these were the earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, and Grey. These nobles were dismissed free and without ransom by Henry VIII., upon their

engaging to promote the views of that monarch by assisting in bringing about the desired alliance. Besides these, the English king had powerful auxiliaries in the banished earl of Angus, and his brother sir George, who returned to their native country, without waiting for a recall, as soon as the death of James V. was made public. Their forfeiture being instantly reversed in parliament, it became manifest that the displeasure of the king rather than the dread of the law had rendered them so long exiles. To these Douglases, indebted to him for protection and the means of support during an exile of fourteen years, the king of England communicated his purposes more fully than to the prisoners made at Solway, and by the means of both endeavoured to form in the parliament of Scotland an English party, which might serve his interests more effectually than they could be advanced by force of arms. To this faction in the state was to be added the numerous men of influence who, being converts to the protestant faith, were attached, on that account, to England, and held in abhorrence the power of France. But the temper of Henry was too impetuous to wait for the advantages which, with a little temper and patience, would certainly have arisen out of his own position towards Scotland, and the exertions of a numerous and

powerful party, which was disposed to act unanimously in his behalf.

The king of England manifested the most eager and impetuous desire that the person of the infant queen should be delivered into his custody; and though it was represented to him that his proposal would certainly awaken the ancient jealousy which had so long subsisted between the kingdoms, it was with difficulty that he at last consented she should be suffered to remain in Scotland till she attained the age of ten years complete. Henry wasted so much time in these preliminary discussions, that he lost the favourable moment in which the estates of Scotland were disposed to enter into terms with him concerning the marriage, and gave time for a politic adversary to recover the power of counteracting the whole project.

The adversary in question was cardinal Beaton, who, as leader of the Roman catholic party, and both in office and in talents head of the churchmen, was the devoted friend of France, and the no less determined enemy of England. While this intriguing priest was a prisoner of the regent, and while the rout at Solway and the death of James had overawed the minds of those nobles disposed to concur with him, Henry would have found little difficulty in accomplishing the matrimonial treaty which he

meditated. But the moment the artful cardinal was free (having been liberated by the Lord Seaton), his influence began to appear. By lavishing money, which his numerous church preferments furnished in great store, by awakening all the ancient prejudices against England, and by dwelling on the imprudent tenacity with which Henry had clung to the rejected articles of the treaty, he contrived to unite a large and powerful body of the nobles, comprehending Argyle, Huntley, and Bothwell, in opposition to the English alliance. A great number of the barons, chiefly from jealousy of the national independence, joined the same party; and the regent himself, after showing a vacillation of temper which in a less serious matter would have been ludicrous, threw himself at last into the arms of the cardinal, and, within eight days after he had ratified the marriage treaty, renounced the friendship of Henry and declared himself for the French interest. This change in Arran's politics was attended with a corresponding alteration in his religion, for he had hitherto pretended great respect for the doctrines of the Reformation, and now he consented to every measure proposed by the cardinal for its suppression.

Henry was not to be trifled with in this manner with impunity. Resentment at what he

termed the Scottish breach of faith prompted him to a vindictive invasion by sea and land: a strong army, under the earl of Hertford, was embarked in a numerous fleet. He took the Scots by surprise, landed in the Firth; plundered Edinburgh and the adjacent country, and thus destroyed for a time the English influence with the Scottish nobles. A series of destructive inroads on the frontier only added to the unpopularity of Henry with the people of Scotland.

Even Angus, the guest, pensioner, and brother-in-law of Henry by his marriage with the widowed queen of James IV., renounced the English monarch's friendship during the course of these ravages, and was distinguished by the share he took in an action by which they were in some degree revenged. The circumstances were these: —

The ravages of the English during the campaign of 1545 were systematically conducted by sir Ralph Ewers and sir Brian Latoun, soldiers of great skill and activity, and wardens on the English marches. They cast down or burned a hundred and ninety-two towns, towers, bastle-houses, and parish churches, slew nearly a thousand Scots, and made upwards of ten thousand captives. Ten thousand horned cattle, with twelve hundred horses, were but a part of the spoil made within three or four months. Many

of the Scottish inhabitants of the western border, and the men of Liddisdale in particular, assumed from necessity a semblance of allegiance to England, and aided the invaders in these forays on Scotland.

To gratify the wardens for these achievements, the king of England conferred upon them in fief the two border counties of the Merse and Teviotdale (1545). Sir Ralph, now Lord Ewers, and sir Brian Latoun advanced to take saisin, as they said, of their new lordship, at the head of 3000 hired soldiers, paid by Henry, and 2000 borderers, the half of whom were Scots under English assurance. «I will write them an instrument of investiture with sharp pens and bloody ink", said the earl of Angus, much of whose private estate was included in this liberal grant on the part of his royal brother-in-law. Accordingly, he urged the regent to pass hastily to the borders with such men as he had immediately around him, and put a stop to the dilapidation and dismemberment of the kingdom.

A small body of three hundred men was assembled, unequal, from their inferior number, to do more than observe the enemy, who moved forward with their full force from Jedburgh to Melrose, where they spoiled the splendid convent, in which lay the bones of many a heroic Douglas. The Scots were joined in the night by

the Leslies and Lindesays, and other gentlemen from the western part of Fife; and apparently the English learned that the regent's forces were increasing, since they retreated towards Jedburgh at the break of day. The Scots followed, manœuvring to gain the flank of the enemy. They were joined, near the village of Maxton, by sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch with his followers, by whose knowledge of the ground and experience in irregular warfare the regent was counselled to simulate a retreat. The English halted, formed, and rushed hastily to pursue, so that encountering the enemy unawares, and at disadvantage, they were totally defeated. The two leaders fell, and very many of their followers, for the victors showed little mercy; and the Liddisdale men, who had come with the English as friends, flung away the red crosses which they had brought to the battle, and made a pitiless slaughter among the troops whom they had joined as auxiliaries. Many prisoners were taken, on whom heavy ransoms were levied, particularly on an alderman of London, named Read, whom Henry VIII. had obliged to serve in person in the wars, because he refused to pay his share of a benevolence imposed on the city, it appearing that though the king of England could not invade a

citizen's property, he had despotic power sufficient to impress his person.

King Henry was greatly enraged at the loss of this action, and uttered threats against Angus, whom he accused of ingratitude. The Scottish earl little regarded his displeasure. « Is our brother," he said, « angry that I have avenged on Ralph Ewers the injury done to the tombs of my ancestors? They were better men than he, and I could in honour do no less. And will he take my life for that? Little knows king Henry the heights of Cairntable *. I can keep myself safe there against all the power of England."

Thus all the nobility of Scotland, even those most nearly connected with Henry, and who had been most indebted to his favour, were, by his impetuous and harsh mode of wooing, rendered averse to the match which he had set his heart upon, and which in itself they approved, and had been so lately willing to further by every means in their power. Nor was his loss of partisans in that country compensated even by the accident which removed from his path cardinal Beaton, by whom it had been chiefly interrupted.

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* Cairntable, mountain in Douglas-dale.

This statesman had not reached the summit of affairs without making many private enemies, as well as acquiring the hatred of those who considered him as the prime opponent of the protestant church, and author of the death of those revered characters who had suffered for heresy. A recent instance of this kind, perpetrated under Beaton's own eye, was marked with unusual atrocity. A protestant preacher, named George Wisheart, born of a good family, and respected for eloquence, learning, and for a gentleness and sweetness of disposition which made him universally esteemed, had distinguished himself much by preaching the reformed doctrines. Even the regent declined to proceed against him, or to commission lay judges to sit upon his trial. The cardinal, however, having treacherously got his person into his hands, proceeded to arraign the prisoner of heresy before an ecclesiastical court, by whom he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to the stake. Beaton himself sate in state to behold the execution of the sentence from the walls of the castle of St. Andrew's, before which it took place.

When Wisheart came forth to die, and beheld the author of his misfortunes reposing in pomp upon the battlements to witness his torments, he said to those around, either from a conviction that the country would not long abide

the cardinal's violence, or from that spirit of prescience said sometimes to inspire the words of those who are standing betwixt time and eternity, « See yonder proud man: I tell you, that in a brief space ye shall see him flung out on yonder ramparts with infamy and scorn equal to the pomp and dignity with which he now occupies it." The martyr died with the utmost patience and bravery, and it is probable his words did not fall to the ground.

Meantime the cardinal, conscious of the danger in which he stood in a country where men's swords did not wait the sanction of legal sentence to exact vengeance for real or supposed injuries, usually dwelt in the castle of St. Andrew's, which stood on a peninsula overhanging the sea, and was strongly fortified. There were workmen employed to repair and strengthen the defences of the place at the very time that a desperate and irritated enemy contrived the death of the bishop within its precincts. Norman Lesley, called master of Rothes, nourished deep resentment against the cardinal for some private cause; and associating with him about fifteen men, who shared his sentiments for sundry reasons, they surprised the castle at the break of day, expelled the garrison, and murdered the object of their enmity with many circumstances of cruelty. Execrable as the action was in con-

clusion and execution, they were able to assemble about one hundred and fifty men to defend the deed they had done, and defied all the forces which the regent could bring against them, until the French king sent to his assistance a body of auxiliaries, to whose superior skill the conspirators were compelled to surrender themselves, under promise of safety for their lives.

Even the death of Beaton, though his most inveterate political adversary, did not benefit the cause of Henry. The cardinal's place, both as primate and as counsellor of the regent, was supplied by a natural brother of the earl of Arran, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, who, from possessing a superior firmness of mind, exercised much influence over his brother, and was as devoted a friend to France and the catholic cause as the murdered cardinal had been during his lifetime.

So stood the English interests in Scotland, which had been ruined by the impetuous rudeness of Henry VIII., when that monarch was summoned to answer for his stewardship before an awful tribunal. It seemed, however, as if his spirit continued to animate his late council-board. In emulative prosecution of the war betwixt England and Scotland, the duke of Somerset, protector of England, entered the eastern marches at the head of an army of se-

venty thousand men, many of whom were mercenary bands from Spain and Italy, experienced in war, and peculiarly formidable when their skill, experience, and discipline were opposed to an enemy so irregular as the Scottish forces. The regent, however, assembled an army almost doubling in numbers that of the invaders, and assuming a defensive situation on the north side of the Esk above Musselburgh, placed the lord protector of England in considerable danger, since he could not advance without fighting at disadvantage, could not keep his ground for want of provisions, and must have experienced great difficulty in attempting a retreat. Prudence and delay would probably have placed the victory in the hands of the Scots. But the military testament of Robert Bruce was once more forgotten, and the Scots, with national impetuosity, abandoned the vantage ground, to fight for the victory which time and patience would have given them without risk.

The English army occupied the crest of a sloping hill, on the southern side of the Esk, above Pinkie; that of Scotland, arranged in three large bodies, chiefly consisting of spearmen, having crossed the river, began slowly to ascend the acclivity. The English cavalry charged with fury on the foremost mass of spearmen, but were received so firmly by the Scottish phalanx, that

they were beaten off with considerable loss. It is said that this commencement of the battle appeared so ominous to Somerset, that he called for guides, and was about to order a retreat. His secret rival, and, as he afterwards proved, his mortal enemy, Dudley earl of Warwick, entertained better hopes, and directly commenced a flank fire with the cannon of the army and the arquebuses of the foreign mercenaries on the thick body of spearmen. Angus, by whom the Scottish vanguard was commanded, endeavoured to change his position to avoid the cannonade. About the same time some Highlanders of the second division had broken their order, to hasten to the spoil, so that their irregular appearance, with the retrograde movement of Angus, communicated a panic to the rest of the Scottish army, who thought they were routed. At this decisive moment the earl of Warwick, who had rallied the English cavalry, brought them again to the charge, and introduced among the disordered forces of the Scots that terror which he had failed in producing upon these masses while they maintained their ranks. The numerous army of the Scots fled in total and irremediable confusion. Thus ended the battle of Pinkie, without either a long or bloody conflict. But the English horsemen, incensed at the check which they received in their first onset,

pursued the chase almost to the gates of Edinburgh with unusual severity; and as many of the fugitives were drowned in the Esk, which was swelled with the tide, the loss of the Scots in the battle and flight amounted to ten thousand men. The whole space between the field of battle and the capital was strewed with dead bodies, and with the weapons which the fugitives had thrown away in their flight.

Yet this great battle was followed by no corresponding effects; for the duke of Somerset, having garrisoned and fortified the town of Haddington, and received the compulsory submission of some of the border chiefs, withdrew to England with his victorious army. On the other hand, the loss of the battle, as it threw the Scottish nation into despair, compelled them in a manner to seek the assistance of France. An assembly of nobles met at Stirling, when it was agreed that the efficient support of their ancient ally should be purchased by offering the hand of their young queen in marriage to the dauphin of France. They consented voluntarily to place her person in the hands of Henry II., the father of her bridegroom, on condition that he would furnish the Scottish nation with immediate and powerful assistance to recover Haddington and such other places as the English had garrisoned, and to defend the rest of the kingdom in case of

a repetition of the invasions. The liberal terms thus freely offered to France were the more surprising, as the estates of Scotland had recently shown insurmountable reluctance to place similar confidence in Henry VIII. But from the prejudices created by a thousand years of war, the Scottish and the English nations were inspired with a jealousy of each other, which did not exist in either country against other foreigners.

Henry II. of France caught at so favourable an opportunity of acquiring a new kingdom for his son. Six thousand veteran troops, under monsieur d'Essé, were instantly despatched to Scotland, and it was in the camp which they formed before Haddington that the articles of the royal marriage were finally adjusted. The queen-regent used the utmost of her art and address, and no woman of her time possessed more, in order to gain over the opinions of such as could be influenced, and intimidate those who could not be so won. The regent, earl of Arran, was induced to consent by a grant from Henry II. to accept the French title of duke of Chatelherault, with a considerable pension from the same country. The opposition of meaner persons was silenced by very intelligible threats of violence from men that were extremely likely to keep their word; the fear of the French arms, amongst which they held their councils, imposed

silence on others; and the person of the infant queen Mary, suitably attended, was sent over to France by the same fleet which had escorted d'Essé and his troops to Scotland. * And thus, ere Mary knew what the word meant, she was bestowed in marriage upon a sickly and silly boy, a lot which might be said to begin her calamities.

The queen-dowager having perfected this great match in favour of the king of France, her kinsman, become naturally desirous of obtaining the interim administration of Scotland until her daughter should attain the years of discretion. For this purpose she dealt with the indolent and indecisive earl of Arran for a cession of the regency. An augmented pension from France, high honours to himself and his friends, were

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* Knox, the stern apostle of protestantism, says, that « some were corrupted with *buds* (bribes), some deceived with flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent, for the French souldiers were officers of arms in that parliament. The lord of Buccleuch, a bloody man, with many G—d's wounds, said that they that did not assent should do worse." — *History of the Reformation*, 1644.

liberally promised, together with a public acknowledgment of his right as next heir to the Scottish throne. On the contrary, the threat of a minute enquiry into his legitimacy, which was not beyond question, a severe investigation of his management while regent, the ill will of the queen and her party in the state, were arguments which shook his resolution. He acquiesced in the terms proposed; and though afterwards he retracted, upon the upbraidings of his brother the primate, who irreverently exclaimed against the meanness that would resign the government when nothing stood between him and the crown but the life of a puling girl, he finally made the sacrifice required of him, and aware, perhaps, of his own unpopularity, resigned to the superior firmness of Mary of Guise the regency of Scotland.

In this capacity the queen-mother showed vigour and determination. With the assistance of d'Essé's French troops, she retook Haddington from the English, and drove out other petty garrisons which they had established after the battle of Pinkie. This warfare, though the actions were on a small scale, was uncommonly sanguinary. Many of the English officers had committed insolencies and atrocities during their hour of success which the Scots could not forgive; and not only did the latter themselves refuse

quarter to the English, but there were instances of their purchasing English prisoners from the French, merely, like Indian savages, to have the pleasure of putting them to death. To such a height of animosity had mutual ravages and constant injuries heated the national resentment of two countries, which, save for an imaginary line of boundary, were in fact the same people.

The victory of Pinkie thus had no more effectual consequences in favour of England than those which had followed former defeats of the Scottish armies, and it furnished an additional proof, that while it was easy to inflict deep injuries upon Scotland, it seemed difficult or impossible absolutely to subdue the country. After so much expenditure of blood and treasure, the Scots were included in a peace betwixt France and England, which, amid civil discord and party faction, the duke of Warwick, now at the head of the English affairs, was glad to accede to.

The queen-regent of Scotland, in her new acquisition of power, had one great disadvantage. She was a Frenchwoman; and while she was in truth desirous of serving her country and sovereign, she found it very difficult to convince the people of Scotland that she was not willing to sacrifice the interests of the country which she ruled to that of which she was the native.

The auxiliary army of d'Essé did not leave Scotland without a renewal of the hostile disposition which had on former occasions arisen between the French troops and the Scots, to whose assistance they had been sent. The rudeness, poverty, and haughty ignorance of the Scots took offence at the airs of superiority assumed by the brave and polished, but arrogant and petulant French. This had been the case in John de Vienne's time. But a large part of the Scottish nation had now additional reasons for disliking the auxiliary forces of d'Essé: they hated them not only as foreigners, but as papists. A brawl, arising out of a contention betwixt a gunsmith of Edinburgh and a French soldier, about a culverin, ended in an open riot, to which both parties were previously well disposed. The Scots and French fought in the streets of Edinburgh, in which skirmish the lord provost of the town and the governor of the castle were both slain. Peace was restored with the utmost difficulty; but their having been guilty of such an insult in the capital of their ally added greatly to the growing unpopularity of the auxiliaries.

Although these ominous occurrences ought to have put the queen-regent on her guard against appearing to act by the advice of foreigners, and although the example of the duke of Albany and the fate of the sieur de la Bastie might have made

her aware of the antipathy of the Scots to the rule of strangers, she did not hesitate to confer on Frenchmen situations of trust and dignity in the Scottish state, and to use their advice in her councils. These new statesmen, better acquainted with the constitution and politics of France than those of Scotland, advised the queen to find means of supporting her government, by laying upon the landed proprietors taxes sufficient to maintain a standing army, and placing garrisons in the principal fortresses of the kingdom, of which, either by hereditary right or by grants from the crown, the nobility were the guardians. This proposal of the queen, made according to the advice of her French advisers, was in the highest degree unpalatable. The poverty of the nation was alarmed at the prospect of a land-tax, and its pride at the supposition that the defence of the country could be better secured by intrusting it to mercenaries rather than to the children of the soil. As an experiment, the queen-regent requested the earl of Angus's consent to put a French garrison into his castle of Tantallon. On hearing this proposal, the earl answered in words intended to apply to the queen, but directed to a hawk which sate on his fist, and which he was feeding at the time, «The devil is in the greedy kite; she will never be satisfied.» But more directly and pointedly

pressed on the subject, he said, „Tantallon is at your majesty's command as regent of the kingdom; but, by Saint Bride of Douglas, I must remain castellan of the fortress for your behoof, and I will keep in better for you than any foreigners whom you could place there."

When the plan of raising mercenary troops was proposed in parliament, about three hundred of the lesser barons came before the queen in a body, and asserted that they were as able to defend their country as their fathers had been, and that they would not permit the sacred task, which was the most honourable part of their birthright, to be transferred to mercenaries and strangers. The queen-regent, therefore, saw herself compelled to abandon her proposal.

The defeat of this scheme, which involved the embryo purpose of a standing army, was not more mortifying than the failure of another, by which Mary of Guise, out of a natural affection to her nation, hoped to serve the interests of France, now engaged in war with Spain and England, by embroiling Scotland in the quarrel. But although she contrived without much trouble to effect a breach of the peace between two countries which were equally jealous and irritable, yet the Scottish nation, taught by experience, entered into the contest as a defensive war only; neither could the urgency of le Crocq,

who commanded the French troops, nor the entreaties of the queen-regent, prevail on them to set a foot on English ground.

Meanwhile the marriage of the young queen of Scots was solemnly celebrated, and that union between France and Scotland achieved, so far as depended upon the execution of the marriage treaty (1558). But by this time the subject of religion had become so interesting as to have greater weight in the scale of national policy than at any former period.

Thirty years had elapsed since the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton for heresy; and during that period the protestant doctrines, obvious as they were to the most ordinary capacities, had risen into that estimation which sense and firmness will always ultimately attain over craft and hypocrisy. They were promulgated by many daring preachers, who, with rude but ready eloquence, averred the truths which they were ready to seal with their blood. Amongst these, the most eminent was John Knox, a man of a fearless heart and a fluent eloquence; violent, indeed, and sometimes coarse, but the better fitted to obtain influence in a coarse and turbulent age, — capable at once of reasoning with the wiser nobility, and inspiring with his own spirit and zeal the fierce populace. Toleration, and that species of candour which makes allowance

for the prejudices of birth or situation, were unknown to his uncompromising mind; and this deficiency made him the more fit to play the distinguished part to which he was called. It was not alone the recluse and the solitary student that listened to these theological discussions. Men of the world, and those engaged in the affairs of life, lent an attentive ear to arguments against the doctrines of Rome, and declamations exposing their ambition, pride, and sensuality. The burgher and the peasant were encouraged to appeal to the word of God itself from those who called themselves his ministers, and each was taught to assume the right of judging for himself in matters of conscience, and at the same time encouraged to resist the rapacity with which church dues were exacted in the course of life, and even in the hour of death. The impoverished noble learned to consider that the right of the church to one half at least of the whole land of Scotland was an usurpation over the lay proprietor; and the prospect of a new road to heaven was not the less pleasing that it promised, if trode courageously, to lie through paths of profit upon earth. The older generation had listened but slowly and unwillingly to a creed which shocked the feelings of awe and reverence for the practices of worship in which they had been

educated; but the younger, who had risen into life while the discussions were common and familiar topics, embraced the reformed doctrines with equal zeal and avidity.

Since the death of cardinal Beaton, there had been no attempt to turn the force of the existing laws against the growth of heresy. Hamilton, the archbishop of Saint Andrew's, though said to lead a life too irregular for a churchman, was more gentle and moderate than his predecessor, Beaton, and the queen-mother was too prudent, and too well acquainted with the state of Scotland and the temper of the people, to engage of her own accord in a struggle with so powerful a sect as the reformers, who now assumed the name of the Congregation. But when her daughter became queen of France, the celebrated duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine urged upon their sister the regent the absolute duty and necessity of rooting out the Scottish heresy. For this they had more reasons than mere zeal for the catholic religion, though theirs was of the warmest temperature.

Mary of England was now dead; and the land, which had relapsed into popery at her accession, had again adopted the protestant faith under her sister Elizabeth. The catholics were not disposed to consider this great princess as a legitimate sovereign, but rather as the adul-

terous daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyne his concubine, for whose sake he had broken the bonds of matrimony with queen Catherine, and cast away the filial obedience due to the see of Rome. Failing Elizabeth, Mary queen of Scotland was heir of England in right of her grandmother Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII. In the eyes of all true catholics, she had not only a contingent, but an immediate claim to succeed her namesake in the government. This title offered the most splendid visions to the two brothers of the house of Guise, who aimed at nothing less than subjecting England itself to the sway of their niece by means of the English catholics, a numerous and powerful body. But this could only be accomplished by gaining for the Scottish queen the credit of a faithful nursing-mother of the church, in destroying that branch of the great northern heresy which had raised its head in the kingdom of Scotland. She could not, with consistency, claim the character of a sound catholic, a person likely to re-establish catholicism in England, while the exercise of the reformed religion was publicly permitted in the realm which was properly her own.

Mary's mother the queen-regent was, therefore, against her better judgment, urged to pick a quarrel with the reformers in Scotland,

and she involved herself by the attempt in a train of consequences which poisoned all the future tranquillity of her regency and her life. The pretext was taken from some insults offered by the protestants to the images of the catholic faith, and particularly to Saint Giles, patron of the metropolis, whose effigy was first thrown into the North Loch, and then burned. To chastise this insolence, various among the most noted popular preachers were summoned to appear before the queen-regent and the bishops, and to undergo their trial as authors of the sedition. The preachers resolved to attend; and, that they might do so with safety, they availed themselves of a custom in Scotland (a right barbarous one), by which a person accused was wont to appear at the bar with as many friends as were willing to stand by him and defend his cause. The time was propitious; for a band of western gentlemen, zealous protestants, were returning homeward from military services on the border, and willingly appeared in arms for the protection of their pastors. They were in vain charged by proclamation to depart from the city. On the contrary, they assembled themselves, andwith little reverence forced themselves into the queen's presence, then sitting in council with the bishops. Chalmers of Gadgirth, a bold and zealous man, spoke in the name of

the rest: — «Madam, we know that this proclamation is a device of the bishops and of that bastard (the primate of Saint Andrew's) that stands beside you. We avow to God that ere we yield we will make a day of it. These idle drones oppress us and our tenants, and now they seek the lives of our ministers, and our own. Shall we suffer this any longer? No, madam, it shall not be." As he concluded, every man put on his steel bonnet. The queen-regent was compelled to have recourse to fair words and entreaties, for little less was to be apprehended than the present massacre of the Roman catholic churchmen. But by the queen's discharging the proclamation, and using gentle and kind words to Gadgirth and his companions, the danger was averted for the present.

The Scottish protestants saw their advantage, and were encouraged to farther boldness. They made a popular tumult by attacking a procession of churchmen which paraded through the streets of the city. The images, which the insurgents termed Dagon and Bel, were dashed to pieces in contempt and derision: as for the churchmen, we may take John Knox's word, «that there was a sudden affray amongst them; for down goeth the crosses, off goeth the surplices, round caps, and cornets with the crowns: the gray-friars gaped, the blackfriars blew, the priests

panted and fled, and happy was he who first got to the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist within the realm before." This was the wild proceeding of a rabble; but an association and bond was immediately afterward entered into by the principal persons of the congregation, to defend their ministers, and assert the rights of hearing and preaching the Gospel. This avowal of faith, with an express determination to renounce the catholic doctrines as delusions of Satan, was subscribed by many men of power and influence. The same leading protestants, now called the «lords of the congregation," were also repeated petitioners to the queen-regent for some express legal protection; but, averse to place the new faith on so permanent a footing, she was liberal in promising such countenance from her own authority as should render a formal toleration unnecessary. An application to the convocation of popish clergy for some relaxation of the laws against heresy was, as might have been expected refused by the churchmen with contempt.

A circumstance happened at this time which tended greatly to increase the suspicion with which the Scots regarded the house of Guise. Eight distinguished members had been sent from the Scottish parliament to witness the marriage ceremony between the dauphin of France and

the young queen of Scotland. Four of these, by a singular coincidence, happened to die about the same time. The suspicious credulity of the age immediately imputed their death to poison, given, as was supposed, to facilitate the execution of some plan formed by the French statesmen against the independence of Scotland. As there existed no motive for such a crime, and no proof that it had taken place, and as the bishop of Orkney, a friend of the queen-regent, was one of the persons who died, the suspicion appears on the whole to have been unjust, and to have had no other foundation than the popular desire to assign extraordinary causes for uncommon events. But it was in the mean time highly calculated to place the queen-regent in a disadvantageous point of view to a great part of the subjects of Scotland.

Mary of Guise's government continued to be still further embarrassed by the zeal with which her brothers of Lorraine continued to press in the most urgent manner the adoption of violent measures against the protestants. In compliance with instructions from France, the queen, forgetful of the violent scene with Chalmers of Gadgirth, again summoned the protestant preachers to appear before a court of justice to be held at Stirling on the 10th May, 1559. Again the zeal of the congregation convoked a species

of insurrectionary army to protect their ministers, which assembled at Perth, then animated by the preachings of John Knox. The queen-regent foresaw the danger which impended, and a second time appeared to retreat from her purpose, and engaged to put a stop to the prosecution of the ministers.

Through the whole eventful scene the subtlety of the queen-dowager made it manifest that she adopted and acted upon the fatal maxim of the church of Rome, that no faith was to be kept with heretics. The protestants had no sooner dispersed their levies than the queen caused the actions against their preachers to be anew insisted on; and upon the non-appearance of the parties cited, sentence of outlawry was pronounced against them.

The protestants were incensed by this duplicity of the queen; and after a vehement discourse by John Knox against the idolatry of the popish worship, and a casual brawl which followed betwixt an impudent priest and a petulant boy, the minds of the auditors were so much inflamed, that they destroyed, first the church in which the sermon had been preached, and then the other churches and monasteries of Perth, breaking to fragments the ornaments and images, and pillaging the supplies of provisions which the monks had provided in great quantity.

The queen in the mean time had drawn together her French soldiery, and, still more deeply irritated by the late proceedings of the multitude, prepared to march upon Stirling, and from thence to Perth, before the lords of the congregation could assemble their vassals. But she had to deal with prudent and active men, who were not willing a second time to be cheated into terms which might be kept or broken at the regent's pleasure. They assembled their forces so speedily that they could with confidence face Mary of Guise and her army, though above seven thousond strong. Still the principal protestant nobles thought it best to come to an agreement with the queen-regent, rather than hurry the nation into a civil war. They agreed to admit Mary of Guise into Perth, on condition that her French troops should not approach within three miles of the city; that no one should be prosecuted on account of the recent disturbances; and that all matters in debate between the government and the lords of the congregation should be left to the consideration of parliament. No sooner, however, had this treaty been adjusted than the queen broke its conditions, by displacing the magistrates of Perth, and garrisoning the town with six hundred men. She endeavoured to palliate this breach of faith by alleging that these troops

did not consist of native Frenchmen, but of Scotsmen under French pay. Far from receiving this evasion as a good argument, the earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart retired to Saint Andrew's, and were there met by the earl of Monteith, the laird of Tulliebardine, and other professors of their religion. Although in an archiepiscopal see, and threatened by the primate, that, if he ventured to ascend his pulpit, he should be saluted with a shower of musket-balls, John Knox boldly preached before the congregation, and animated their resolution of defending their freedom of conscience. As it appeared plain that the violation of the treaty of Perth would once more put the lords of the congregation in arms, the queen on her part endeavoured to seize an advantage by superior alacrity. She was again disappointed, although she early put her troops, now amounting to about three thousand men in the pay of France, into motion against Saint Andrew's, whither the principal reformers had retreated.

The lords of the congregation boldly determined to meet the queen-mother in the field; and though they set out from St. Andrew's with only one hundred horse, yet ere they had marched ten miles they were joined by such numbers as enabled them to remonstrate with the queen, rather than to petition for indemnity. Mary of

Guise again resorted to the duplicity with which she was but too familiar. She obtained a pacification, but it was only on the condition that she should transport her French soldiery to the southern side of the firth; and she agreed to send commissioners to St. Andrew's to settle on conditions of peace. The Frenchmen were accordingly withdrawn for the time; but, with her usual insincerity, the queen altogether neglected to send the commissioners, or take any steps for the establishment of a solid composition.

The consequences were, that the congregation resumed arms a third time, and forcibly occupied Perth. From thence they advanced in triumph to the capital, the people, particularly the citizens of the burghs which they occupied, eagerly seconding them in the work of reformation· especially in the destruction of monasteries and the defacing the churches, by destroying what they considered the peculiar objects of Roman catholic worship. The queen gave way to the torrent, and retreated to Dunbar, to await till want of money and of provisions should oblige the lords of the congregation to disperse their forces.

This period was not long in arriving. The troops of these barons consisted entirely of their vassals, serving at their own expense. When

the provisions they brought with them to the camp (which never at the utmost exceeded food for the space of forty days) were expended, they had no means of keeping the field, and considered the campaign as ended. The burghers had their callings to pursue, and, however zealous for religion, were under the necessity of returning to their own residences when days and weeks began to elapse. These causes so soon diminished the army of the congregation, that the queen-regent, advancing with her compact body of mercenary troops, might have taken Edinburgh by storm, had it not been for a third treaty, patched up indeed, and acceptable to neither party, but which each was willing to receive for a time, rather than precipitate the final struggle. The articles of convention were, that the lords of the congregation should evacuate Edinburgh, to which the queen-regent should return, but that she should not introduce a French garrison there. The protestants agreed to abstain from future violation of religious houses; while the queen consented to authorise the free exercise of the protestant religion all over the kingdom, and to allow that in Edinburgh no other should be openly professed. These terms were reluctantly assented to on both sides. The protestants were desirous that the French troops, the principal support of the queen-regent's power, should

be removed out of the kingdom; while Mary of Guise, on the other hand, was secretly determined to augment their number, and place them in a commanding position.

She was the rather determined on following the violent policy suggested by the brothers of Guise, because the death of Henry II. and the accession of Francis and Mary to the throne had rendered the queen's uncles allpowerful at the court of France.

A thousand additional soldiers having arrived from France, the queen-regent, in conformity with the policy which she had adopted, employed them in fortifying as a place of arms the sea-port of Leith. The lords of the congregation remonstrated against this measure; but their interference was not attended to. On the contrary, the queen-regent, influenced by the dangerous counsel of her brothers the princes of Lorraine, shut herself up in the newly-fortified town, and haughtily disputed the right of the nobility to challenge her prerogative to establish her residence where she would, and to secure it by military defences when she thought proper.

The civil rights of the Scottish nation, as well as their religious liberties, were now involved in the debate; and the lords of the congregation were joined by the duke of Chatel-

herault, and other noblemen who continued catholics. Both parties, having convoked an assembly, as numerous and powerful as a Scottish parliament, united in the decisive step of passing an act by which, under deep professions of duty to the king and queen, they solemnly deprived the queen-regent of her office, as having been exercised inconsistently with the liberties, and contrary to the laws, of the kingdom.

Among the nobles who thus lifted the banner of defiance against the highest established authority of the kingdom, the chief was lord James Stewart called at this time the prior of St. Andrew's, a natural son of king James V., and a brother, consequently, of the reigning queen. If it had so chanced that this eminent person had possessed a legitimate title to the crown of Scotland, it would probably have been worn by him with much splendour. As it was, he was thrown into circumstances in which, as we shall see, high ambition, encouraged by tempting opportunity, proved too strong for the ties of gratitude and family affection, and ultimately brought a man of great talents and many virtues to an early and a bloody grave. His strong mind had early received with conviction the reformed doctrines, and he was distinguished among the protestant lords by his

zeal, sagacity, and courage; so that though the earl of Arran (duke of Chatelherault, and formerly regent,) had again returned to the side of the lords of the congregation, and was complimented with the title of chief of their league, yet the general confidence of the party was reposed in the wisdom, courage, and integrity of the prior of St. Andrew's. Argyle, Glencairn, and others, the associates of this distinguished person, were, like himself, men of courage and sagacity, and full of that species of enthusiasm which is inspired by an enlarged sphere of thought and action, and by the sense of having thrown off the fetters of ecclesiastical bondage.

CHAPTER XXV.

Disadvantages of the protestants. — They receive supplies of treasure from England: a large sum of which is intercepted by the earl of Bothwell. — The protestants are repulsed from Leith, and retire to Stirling much discouraged. — They recover courage at the exhortation of John Knox; and send Lethington to the court of England. — Aid is granted to the reformers by Elizabeth. — A detachment of the French ravage the coast of Fife. — The protestant gentlemen skirmish with them. — Critical arrival of the English fleet. — The French retreat.

The lords of the congregation were not long in discovering, that in the task of besieging a fortified town like Leith, defended by veteran and disciplined troops, they had greatly overrated their own strength. The town being open to the sea could not easily be reduced by famine; and the insurgents, however brave in the battle-field, were far inferior to the French in the attack and defence of fortified places. Brantome gives us reason to believe that the talents of the

general of the French were of the first order, and affirms that it was sufficient to gain a high name in arms to have assisted at the siege of Leith.

But the Scottish nobles laboured under other disadvantages besides inferiority in military skill. A still greater difficulty arose from the want of money to pay and maintain an army in the field, without which the feudal array of the reformed chiefs was sure to crumble to pieces anew in the space of a month or two. Meantime the necessary suspension of hostilities gave the queen an opportunity of disuniting the league of the reformed party by tampering with its leaders individually, and several who had been proof against the regent's threats were found not inaccessible to her promises. To guard against such pressing evils, the lords of the congregation resolved upon invoking the assistance of England, the only neighbour of power and wealth whose alliance or countenance could counterpoise that of France.

The cause of the reformation had been espoused and defended by queen Elizabeth, whose right to the crown and whose title to legitimacy depended upon her father Henry's having disowned the authority ot the church of Rome. Indeed, if she herself had not seen her danger from the queen of Scots' title being set up in preference to her own, the princes of Lorraine had, with arrogance

peculiar to their house, called her attention to the subject by making open pretence to the throne of England in behalf of their niece Mary of Scotland. Money had been struck in France bearing the arms of England; proclamations had been made in the names of Francis and Mary, as king and queen of that country, as well as of France and Scotland; and an open and avowed claim to the crown of England was brought forward in queen Mary's behalf by every mode short of a direct challenge of Elizabeth's title. The English catholics were known to be favourable to these views. It was natural, therefore, that Elizabeth, whose birth and title of succession were thus openly impugned by the princes of Lorraine, should foster and encourage those Scottish insurgents who were in arms to dispossess their sister the queen-regent of the government of Scotland. Accordingly, though accustomed to act with great economy, she was readily induced to advance considerable sums to the lords of the congregation (1559), by which assistance they were enabled to form the siege of Leith.

Their undertaking was at first very unfortunate. A large sum of the subsidy furnished by queen Elizabeth fell into the hands of the earl of Bothwell, whose ill-omened name now first appears in history, and who had adopted the faction of the queen-mother. Two skirmishes, in which

the protestants were defeated, filled the besiegers with consternation: they renounced their enterprise precipitately, and retreated from Edinburgh to Stirling with fallen hopes and an army diminished by desertion. But Knox encouraged them by his fulminations from the pulpit: he sternly upbraided the hearers with their confidence in the arm of flesh, and promised them victory as soon as they should humble themselves to acknowledge the power of the Divine Disposer of events. The severe minister reminded them of the former errors of some amongst them, of the selfish views of others, of the want of concord among their leaders, the deficiency of zeal amongst the followers, and charged on their own faults and follies those losses which men of more timorous spirit ascribed to the superiority of the enemy. The eloquence of this extraordinary and undaunted preacher was calculated to work on the stubborn and rough men to whom it was addressed. The lords of the congregation resumed their purpose of resistance to the last, and resolved to despatch William Maitland of Lethington, one of the most distinguished statesmen of his time, to show the queen of England the pressure of the circumstances under which they laboured, and to demonstrate the necessity of assisting them in their defence, unless she would be content to see the protestant party in Scotland utterly destroyed.

The negotiator selected on this occasion had recently held the office of secretary to the queen; but as he dissented from the counsels which were transmitted to her from Paris, and had remonstrated with firmness against the measures to which she was instigated by attachment to her faith and family, he incurred the hatred and suspicion of the French to such a degree that he considered his life in danger from their resentment. Under such personal apprehension he fled from Leith to join the lords of the congregation at Stirling; for although he professed the reformed faith, he was never believed to be deeply animated with religious zeal. The great reputation which Lethington enjoyed as a statesman did not exceed his real abilities; and his judicious remonstrances easily persuaded the sagacious Elizabeth to grant the succours required by his constituents.

It was the marked attribute of this great princess's administration, that, slow and cautious in adopting steps of importance, she was equally prompt and determined in the execution of them; and she took her measures on this occasion with her characteristic wisdom and activity.

In the mean time the queen-regent of Scotland, who had received some additional assistance from France, and was in expectation of a much larger force, resolved to press the moment of

advantage before the power of England could be put in motion. A body of French infantry, and a considerable party of horse, amounting altogether to about four thousand men, were sent into Fife, the most civilised part of Scotland, and where the inhabitants were most devoted to the protestant faith, to punish the rebellious, and to destroy the power of the barons of that district. The invaders passed by the bridge of Stirling, and then marched eastward along the coast of the Firth of Forth, burning and wasting the villages and gentlemen's houses with which the shores are thickly studded. This was not done without much resistance and retaliation. The prior of Saint Andrew's, lord Ruthven, Kirkcaldy of Grange, a gentleman of Fife distinguished for his pre-eminent courage in an age when courage was an universal attribute, with other active leaders of the congregation, attended upon the motions of the French detachment, limited their forays, skirmished with them on every occasion, and conducted their resistance with such zeal and activity; that, though in number only five or six hundred men, they gained occasional advantages, and maintained by their zeal and courage, even in these arduous circumstances, the character of their country and the spirit of their party. The two armies continued for several days to move along

the coast; the flames of towns and villages marking the progress of the French, and the sudden and vigorous charges of the protestants interrupting from time to time the work of devastation, when the sight of a gallant navy of ships of war sailing up the Firth of Forth attracted the attention of both parties. D'Oysel, the French general, concluded that they were the fleet expected from France, and in that belief made his soldiere fire a general salute. But he was soon painfully undeceived by the capture of two of his own transports, which sailed along the shore to supply his men with provisions, and presently after this act of decisive violence the fleet showed English colours.

It was now the turn of the French to fly, as the invading detachment must otherwise have stood in considerable danger of being cut off from their friends on the southern side of the Forth. So that, instead of marching onward to Saint Andrew's and Dundee, both which towns had been especially devoted to plunder and destruction, D'Oysel attempted a retreat to Stirling, by a dangerous march in the opposite direction The Scots had broken down a bridge over the Devon, hoping to intercept the enemy's return; but the French, well acquainted with the duties of the engineer, threw over a temporary bridge, composed of the roof or timbers

of a church, which afforded them the means of passage. They effected with difficulty their retreat to Stirling, and from thence to Lothian. The critical arrival of the English fleet being considered as an especial interference of Providence in the protestant cause, gave new courage to the lords of the congregation, who assembled forces on every side. The English land army, amounting to six thousand men, under Lord Grey de Wilton, now entered Scotland, agreeably to the engagement of Elizabeth, and united their forces with those of the protestants. The French troops retired into Leith, and prepared to make good their defence, in hopes of receiving succour from France. The town was instantly blockaded by the English fleet on the side of the sea, and beleaguered on the landward side by the united armies of Scotland and England.

The eyes of all Britain were bent on this siege of Leith, which the English and Scottish, now (1560) for the first time united in a common cause, carried on with the utmost perseverance, whilst the French defended themselves with such skill and determination as was worthy the character they bore of being the best troops in Europe. They were, indeed, defeated at the Hawkhill, near Loch End, where the Scottish cavalry charged them with great fury, and

gained considerable advantage; but the garrison of Leith shortly after avenged themselves by a successful sally, in which they killed double the number they had lost at the Hawkhill. On this occasion it became evident that the English, who had not lately been engaged in any great national war, had in some degree lost the habit of discipline. The attack on the besiegers found their lines carelessly watched; and the ground where they opened their trenches being unfit for the purpose, argued inexperience on the part of the engineers.

The loss which they had sustained taught the English greater vigilance and caution; but so intimately were the French acquainted with defensive war, that the siege advanced very slowly. At length a breach was effected, and an assault both terrible and persevering was made on the town. The ladders, however, which were prepared for the occasion proved too short for the purpose, and the besiegers were finally repulsed with great loss. The English were at first depressed by this repulse; but they were encouraged to continue the siege by the duke of Norfolk, commanding in the northern counties of England, with the title of lieutenant. He sent a reinforcement of two thousand men, with an assurance that the besiegers should not lack men so long as there were any remaining

between Tweed and Trent. The siege was renewed more closely than ever, with reliance rather on famine than force for reducing the place. But the garrison endured without murmur the extremity of privation to which they were reduced, and continued to maintain the defence of Leith with the most undaunted firmness.

Whilst the affairs of Scotland were in this unpropitious condition, Mary of Guise, whose misrule had been the cause of these civil hostilities, died in the castle of Edinburgh. That strong fortress had remained during the civil war under the charge of the Lord Erskine, who remained neutral between the parties, and would admit neither of them in any numbers into the important national citadel. But when the siege of Leith was about to commence, the queen-regent, weak in health and broken in spirits, and unable to partake in the dangers and hardships to which the town was about to be exposed, requested to be received into the castle of Edinburgh for the safety of her person. This was readily granted by the Lord Erskine, on condition that she should be attended by a train so limited as to excite no apprehension for the security of the place. Here her disease, which was of a dropsical nature, gradually increased, aggravated, no doubt, by mental distress, arising

out of the difficulties which multiplied around her.

On her death-bed she desired an interview with the prior of Saint Andrew's and some of the lords of the congregation, and expressed her sorrow for having listened to the councils which had brought the country to the pass in which it now stood. Having thus confessed her own errors, she pressed on them the necessity of keeping in view their duty to their infant sovereign. She heard with respect the admonitions of Willox, a protestant divine of eminence, not, as we may suppose, with any idea of renouncing her own faith, but to give a sign of the candour towards those of a different persuasion, from which, in her life, she had too often departed. In these melancholy circumstances died Mary of Guise, of whom it was justly said that her talents and virtues were her own, her errors and faults the effect of her deference to the advice of others, and especially of her aspiring brothers.

Her death was speedily followed by proposals of peace from France. The ambitious views of the house of Lorraine had engaged France in a war not only with Scotland but with all Britain; and their sister's death deprived them of that interest in the Scottish government which Bothwell, Seton, and a very few other Scotsmen of

influence hitherto acknowledged. Leith was now reduced to the last extremity, and must be either effectually reinforced or surrendered. The position of affairs in France offorded strong reasons against detaching any considerable force for relief of the town. The enterprise of Amboise had opened to view a deep and extended conspiracy against the power of the house of Lorraine; and though it was discovered and prevented for the time, yet its elements existed all over France, and a single spark might unexpectedly extend a conflagration over the whole. It was, therefore, a point not of prudence only but necessity on the part of the French government, instead of sending fresh troops to Scotland, to make such an accommodation with the nobles of the kingdom as would permit them to withdraw the veteran troops who were cooped up in Leith, in order to their being employed in more pressing service at home.

In managing a difficult negotiation, where France was confessedly the weaker party, the princes of Lorraine employed Monluc bishop of Valence, and the sieur de Randan, men of consummate talent. Cecil, and Wotton dean of Canterbury, were present at the conference, on the part of England. The removal of the foreign troops was quickly agreed on; for the French government now desired their presence at home

as much as the Scots wished their absence. The fortified places of Leith, Dunbar, and Inch Keith were to be surrendered, and the fortifications destroyed. It was made a condition that no foreign forces should be introduced into Scotland without consent of parliament. The administration of government was vested in a council of twelve persons, of whom seven were to be named by the king and queen, and the other five by parliament. An indemnity was stipulated for whatever violences had been committed by either party during the civil war. On the matter of religion, it was declared that the estates should report to the king and queen their opinion on that matter; and it was agreed that the parliament should be convoked without further summons.

A treaty was at the same time made between France and England, by which Francis and Mary recognised in the fullest manner the claim of Elizabeth to the English crown, and agreed that Mary, in time to come, should neither assume the title nor bear the arms of England. By this pacification, which was called the treaty of Edinburgh, the civil wars of Scotland were conducted to a termination highly favourable to the cause of the protestant religion, and very different from what seemed at first probable.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Petition to the Scottish parliament on the part of the reformers. — The parliament abolish the Roman catholic form of worship, and prohibit the celebration of the mass under severe penalties. — The change of religion meets no opposition from the catholic bishops and prelates; but gives great offence to Francis and Mary, who receive an envoy from parliament very coldly. — The church government of Scotland is arranged on a calvinistic and presbyterian model. — The clergy are meanly provided for, the nobles retaining the greater part of the spoils of the catholic church. — Debates on this subject. — Character of the presbyterian church of Scotland. — Destruction of the ecclesiastical buildings. — Queen Mary returns to Scotland; her reception at Edinburgh. — Intolerant zeal of the reformers, expressed in pageants and by riots, and by the vehement exhortations of John Knox. — These disturbances appeased by the moderation of Lord Jumes Stewart, prior of Saint Andrew's. — Transactions with England. — Correspondence between the queens.

The Scottish parliament never assembled in such numbers (Aug. 1. 1560), or had affairs of such

weight before them; but the most pressing and important business was a petition from the principal protestants, comprehending the chief lords of the congregation, desiring and urging the parliament to adopt a formal manifesto against the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome, the exorbitance of its power and wealth, and its oppressive restrictions on the liberty of conscience. The parliament, with little hesitation, adopted the declaration, that the domination of the church of Rome was an usurpation over the liberties and consciences of Christian men; and to make their grounds of dissent from its doctrines still more evident, they promulgated a confession of faith, in which they renounced, in the most express terms, all the tenets by which the church of Rome is distinguished from other Christian churches, and disowned the whole authority of the Roman pontiffs, and the hierarchy of their church. The entire system of ecclesiastical government, both in doctrine and practice, which had existed for so many centuries, and been held inviolably sacred, was by these enactments utterly overthrown, and one altogether new adopted in its stead. The worship of Rome, so long that of the kingdom and of all Europe, was at once denounced as idolatrous; and, following one of Rome's worst tenets, secular punishments

were menaced against those who continued to worship according to the manner of their fathers. The celebration of mass was punished in the first instance by banishment, in the second by a forfeiture of goods and corporal punishment, in the third by death itself.

It is remarkable, that the acts of parliament authorising these great and radical changes in the religion and church government of the country passed without the slightest opposition on the part of the Roman catholic churchmen, bishops, and mitred abbots, who had still retained seats in the Scottish parliament. They were confounded and overawed by the unanimity with which the nobility, gentry, and burgesses united in these innovations. As their zeal for the peculiarities of their faith certainly assumed no self-denying form, it is probable no one ecclesiastic might care to draw upon himself, as an individual, the popular hatred, and perhaps the popular vengeance, likely to attend on any one who opposed the general demand for reform; and all might hope, that the propositions approved in parliament had every chance of falling to the ground by the king and queen refusing their consent.

Neither did they in that respect calculate falsely. Sir James Sandilands lord Saint John, being sent to announce the proceedings of this

reforming parliament to Francis and Mary, was very coldly received at the court of France, and the ratification of its statutes which he sought to obtain was positively refused. The princes of Lorraine, on the other hand, by their insolent carriage towards the envoy, by their general expressions of resentment, by the levy of troops, and their employing Lord Seton and other active agents in Scotland to draw together those who still favoured the catholic cause, intimated their purpose that the war should be rekindled in Scotland in the next spring, by the invasion of a French fleet and army. But these intentions were cut short by the sudden death of Francis II., who had acted as much under the influence of his beautiful wife as she herself, their niece, had under that of the princes of Lorraine. Charles the ninth, the brother and successor of Francis, was entirely governed by the councils of his mother, who, jealous of the ascendancy which Mary had acquired over her deceased husband, avenged herself, now that she had the power in her hands, by so many marks of slight and contempt, that the younger queen-dowager, overwhelmed with the reverse of fortune, retired entirely from the court, and took up her residence in solitude at Rheims.

The Scottish protestants were rejoiced at the timely change which destroyed all possibility of

their plans of reformation being disturbed by the power of France, and proceeded with full assurance of success to complete the model of their church government. The tenets of the celebrated Calvin, respecting ecclesiastical rule, were selected, probably, because they were considered most diametrically opposite to those of Rome. This form of church government had been established in the city of Geneva, where John Knox and other reformed teachers pursued their theological studies, and it was earnestly recommended by them to the imitation of their countrymen.

This modification of the reformed religion differed in its religious tenets but little from that of the Lutherans, and still less from that which was finally adopted in England.

But the presbyterian system was, in its church government, widely distinguished from that of all countries which, renouncing the religious doctrines of the Roman clergy, had retained their hierarchy, whether in whole or in part. Invented in a republican country, the presbyterian government was entirely unconnected with and independent of the civil government of the state, and owned no earthly head. The church was governed in the extreme resort by the general assembly of the church, being a convocation of the clergy by representation, together with a

certain number of the laity, admitted to sit and vote with them, as representing the Christian community, under the name of lay elders. In the original sketch of the Scottish church discipline provision was made for certain persons named superintendents, who were intrusted, as their name implies, with the spiritual power of bishops. A digest of the forms of the church, called the Book of Discipline, was willingly received and subscribed to by the leaders of the congregation, the lay reformers offering no objection to any thing which the preachers proposed, whether respecting the doctrines of the church or the forms by which it was to be governed.

But though the clergy and laity went thus far hand in hand, there was a point at which their views and interests parted. This was upon the mode in which the revenue of the church of Rome should be disposed of. No less than one half of the land in the kingdom of Scotland, and that by much the more valuable, had, one way or other, been engrossed by the popish clergy; and the lay nobles, outstripped by them in wealth, and often in court favour, envied their large revenues, at least as much as they abhorred their doctrines and disliked their persons. The hope of engrossing the principal share in so rich a plunder was probably [illegible]

forward to by the nobles as a compensation for the destruction of the old form of church government, which presented so many good places of retreat for sons, legitimate or natural, and near relations otherwise not easily provided for in so poor a country. Having seen this source of influence destroyed, they were desirous in exchange to secure the funds out of which it had arisen; and their surprise and displeasure were great when the presbyterian clergy preferred their claim for a share. Many of the aristocracy had already secured portions of the patrimony of the church by feus, leases, and other modes of alienation exercised by the catholic clergy, who, being still in lawful possession of the lands, were easily induced to sell or otherwise dispose of them to their lay friends; and without meaning to bring a charge of self-intended greediness against the whole body of Scottish laymen, distinguished as promoters of the reformation, we may fairly say that there was a large majority whose zeal for their own interest equalled at least that which they felt for the protestant doctrines.

Thus determined on their own private views, it was with the utmost reluctance the Scottish statesmen were induced to listen to a proposal, framed on a report of the reformed clergy, that the church revenues should be divided into three

shares or portions, to be applied: 1. To the decent support of the clergy; 2. To the encouragement of learning, by the foundation of schools and colleges; and, 3. To the support of the poor of the realm. Maitland of Lethington asked with a sneer, whether the nobility of Scotland were now to turn hod-bearers, to toil at the building of the kirk. Knox answered, with his characteristic determination, that he who felt dishonoured in aiding to build the house of God, would do well to look to the security of the foundations of his own. But the nobles finally voted the plan to he a „devout imagination, a well-meant but visionary system, which could not possibly be carried into execution." At a later period the parliament were in a manner shamed into making some appointment for the clergy, payable out of the tithes which either remained in the hands of the bishops and abbots of the Scottish church, or had fallen into the hands of lay impropriators.

By this arrangement the bishops, abbots, etc. were allowed to subsist as an order of proprietors, although deprived of all ecclesiastical dignity or office in the reformed church; and their possession of the church revenues afforded the means by which the ecclesiastical possessions were transmitted to the lay nobility by sale,

lease, and other modes of alienation. The general regulation of parliament bore, that the church property, whether in the hands of the bishops or of lay titulars, as the lay impropriators were called, should be liable to be taxed to the extent of one third of their amount, for the support of the protestant clergy; and a committee was appointed to *modify*, as it was called, the especial stipends payable in every individual case, reserving by far the greater proportion of the fund in reversion to the prelatic possessor or lay titular. The obvious selfishness of these enactments gave just offence to the clergy. John Knox, deeply incensed at the avarice of the nobility, pronounced from the pulpit of Edinburgh, that two parts of the chnrch revenue were bestowed on the devil, and a third divided between God and the devil. A hundred marks Scottish (not six pounds sterling) was the usual allowance modified to the minister of a parish: some parishes were endowed with a stipend of thrice that amount; and the whole sum allowed for the maintenance of the national church, consisting of a thousand parishes, was about three thousand five hundred pounds a year, which paltry endowments were bcsides irregularly paid, and very much begrudged. When it is considered how liberal the ancient kings and governors of Scotland had been to the church

of Rome, it appears that in this point, as in all others of doctrine and discipline, the Scottish reformers had held a line of conduct diametrically opposite to that pursued by their catholic ancestors.

This unkindly parsimony towards themselves was the more acutely felt by the protestant preachers, as the principal lords of the congregation, and the Lord James of Saint Andrew's himself, were the persons by whom these miserable stipends were modified. « Who would have thought," said the ardent Knox, « that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren would have come down thither for corn, and returned with their sacks empty? Men would have thought that Pharaoh's storehouse would have been emptied ere the sons of Jacob were placed in risk of starving for hunger.* Wisheart of Pittarrow, a zealous reformer, was appointed comptroller, to levy and pay the allotted stipends; but as the poor ministers complained to heaven and earth that they were not able to obtain payment even of the small pittance allowed them, it became a common phrase to bless the good laird of Pittarrow as a sincere professor, but bid the devil receive the comptroller as a greedy extortioner.

Such were the original regulations of the presbyterian church of Scotland, which has now

subsisted, with short interruptions, for more than three centuries, and set an example, with few exceptions, of zealous good men actually submitting to that indigence which had been only talked of by the monks and friars, and labouring in their important duties for conscience' sake, not for gain. Their morals are equal to those of any church in the world, and superior to most As in the usual course of their studies they are early transferred from the university to the pulpit, the Scottish church has not produced so many deep scholars or profound divines as those of the sister kingdom, whose colleges and fellowships afford room and opportunity for study till the years of full intellect are attained. On the other hand, few instances occur in which a Scottish minister does not possess a scholar-like portion both of profane learning and theological science. In the earlier days of the church the presbyterian clergy were hurried into some extremes, from their ardent desire to oppose diametrically their doctrines and practice to those of Rome, when it had been better to have conformed to the ancient practices. Because the catholic church demanded a splendid ritual, prescribed special forms of prayer, and occupied superb temples, the Scottish kirk neglected the decencies of worship, and the solemn attitude of devotion

which all men assume in the closet; and the vulgar audience reprobated the preachers who showed so much anxiety to discharge their office as to commit their discourses to writing previous to delivering them. Because the catholic priests easily granted absolution for such offences as their hearers brought in secret to the confessional, the kirk insisted upon performance of public and personal penance, even in cases which were liable to harden the feelings of the criminal, to offend the delicacy of the congregation, and to lead to worse consequences. Instead of the worldly pomp and circumstance which the church of Rome assembled around her, the reformed preachers could only obtain eminence by observing an austere system of morals themselves, and exacting the same from others, — a practice which in extreme cases might occasionally lead to hypocrisy and spiritual tyranny. Lastly, as they disclaimed all connection with the state, the Scottish divines could not be charged, like the papist clergymen, with seeking the applause of monarchs, and a high place in courts; but they cannot in the early ages of the church be acquitted of interfering with the civil government in cases where they pretended that religion was connected with it (a connection easily discovered, if the preacher desired to find it), and so dedicating to politics

the time and reasoning which were due to religion. The current of ages, however, and the general change of manners, have in a great measure removed those errors, imputable to the Scottish church, and incidental to every human institution, which arose from superabundant zeal; and it is hoped and believed, that while some excesses have been corrected and restrained, it is, as a national church establishment, still animated by the more refined and purer qualities of fervid devotion.

The fabric of the Roman church having now been destroyed, unless in so far as its ruins afforded refuge to abbots *in commendam*, lay impropriators, and other titles given to such nobles as had enriched themselves at the expense of the establishment, the reformers were resolved to destroy those splendid monuments of ancient devotion, which, in their eyes, had incurred condemnation from having been the scene of a false or idolatrous worship. The work was intrusted to the agents of the zealots among the party, who found ready assistance every where from a disorderly rabble, to whom devastation was in itself a pleasure. The basest covetousness actuated their superiors, who frequently lent their countenance to the destructive proceedings for the sake of the paltry gain which could be derived from the sale of the

sacred vessels, bells, lead, timber, and whatever of the other materials could be turned to profit. Thus, by the blind fury of the poor, and the sordid avarice of the higher classes, « abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead," says the eloquent Robertson, «perished in one common ruin." It is said John Knox himself justified this unlimited destruction by the noted saying, «Pull down the nests, and the rooks will fly off!" an expression, the politic meaning of which could only apply to the cloisters of the monks and friars. Other ill-instructed preachers gave encouragement to devastation, by quoting the examples afforded in the Old Testament of the destruction of places in which idolatrous rites had been used: a manifest misapplication of Scripture, and one which, pushed to its conclusion, would have seemed to warrant an exterminating war against those who adhered to the old religion, as well as against the destruction of sacred buildings.

The only rational cause assigned for this havoc was, that so long as ancient shrines, images long venerated, relics averred to have wrought miracles, and similar objects of superstitious worship, were left in the eyes of the people, they might have proved the means of occasioning a relapse to the ancient faith. But

thus far the object might have been obtained by following the example of the reformers in England, who defaced altars, removed images, and burnt the relics of popery, to show that there was no power in them to help themselves, but spared for a better and more rational course of worship the noble edifices in which they were installed. In scourging the buyers and sellers out of the temple, no violence was menaced against the sacred edifice itself, though it had incurred profanation.

The ruin of the Scottish ecclesiastical buildings was, however, almost universal. The citizens of Glasgow alone set an example of rational moderation in Scotland. The mechanics of that city, under command of their deacon, took arms to resist the destruction of their venerable cathedral, at the same time offering their permission and assistance to destroy whatever could be made the object of idolatrous worship, but insisting that the edifice itself should be left uninjured; and, notwithstanding their having succeeded in saving this ancient fabric, we have never heard that popery has regained its footing in the ancient diocese of Saint Mungo.

Having thus entirely new-modelled the system of church government and of national worship, the parliament of Scotland resolved to recall from France the descendant of their monarchs,

whose connection with that country was broken off by the death of her husband: naturally supposing that Mary, alone, and unsupported by French power, could not be suspected of meditating any interruption to the new order of religious affairs so unanimously adopted by her subjects.

With this view, the lord prior of St. Andrew's, the queen's illegitimate brother, and a principal agent in all the great changes which had taken place since the commencement of the regency of Mary of Guise, was despatched to Paris to negotiate the return of his royal sister. The catholics of Scotland sent an ambassador on their own part: this was Lesley, bishop of Ross, celebrated for his fidelity to Mary during her afflictions, and known as an historian of credit and eminence. He made a secret proposal, on the part of the catholics, that the young queen should land in the north of Scotland, and place herself under the guardianship of the earl of Huntley, who, it was boasted, would conduct her in triumph to the capital at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, and restore, by force of arms, the ancient form of religion. Mary refused to listen to advice which must have made her return to her kingdom a signal for civil war, and acquiesced in the proposals delivered by the prior of St. Andrew's, on the

part of the parliament. The young queen took this prudent step with the advice of her uncles of Guise, who, fallen from the towering hopes they had formerly entertained, were now chiefly desirous to place her in her native kingdom, without opposition or civil war, in which the proposals of the bishop of Ross must have immediately plunged her.

In 1561, Mary set sail for the country in which she was to assume a crown entwined with many thorns. Elizabeth had refused her a safe-conduct, and it is said that the English ships of war had orders to intercept her. The widowed queen of France took a lingering and painful farewell of the fair country over which she had so lately reigned, with expressions of the deepest sorrow. A mist hid her galleys from the English fleet; and she arrived safely at Leith on the 19th of August, in the aforesaid year.

Her subjects crowded to the beach to welcome her with acclamations; but the preparations made for her reception had been too hasty to cover over the nakedness and poverty of the land. The queen, scarcely nineteen years old, wept when she saw the wretched hackneys, still more miserably accoutred, which were provided to carry her and her ladies to Holyrood, and

compared them in her thoughts to the fair palfreys with brilliant housings which had waited her commands in France. Upon her landing, her subjects, softened with the recollection of her early misfortunes, charmed with the excellence of her mien, the delicacy of her unrivalled beauty, the vigour of her blooming years, and the acuteness of her wit, were almost enraptured with joy. Some part of the reception afforded by their loyal zeal was well meant, but certainly ill chosen. Two or three hundred violinists, apparently amateur performers, held a concert all night below her windows, and prevented her getting an hour's sleep after the fatigues of the sea. Mary, though suffering under the effects of this dire serenade, professed to receive the compliment of these „honest men of the town of Edinburgh" as it was intended, and even ventured to hint a wish that the concert might be repeated.

The circumstance of the queen differing from the greater part of her subjects in religion was not, however, forgotten; and it seems very early to have been considered as a crime on the part of queen Mary, by the more zealous of her protestant subjects, that she did not at once, and for ever, relinquish the catholic religion, in which she had been bred up, and against

which, in all probability, she had never heard a single word of argument till the first moment she touched Scottish ground. It seems to have occurred to no one that a sincere conversion could only be the result of argument and instruction, and that a hasty change of her early faith could only have indicated that the young queen was altogether indifferent on a subject so serious.

Her zealous subjects, whose hatred to popery had become a passion; tried the effect of reproaches and menaces upon the young queen, without waiting for the slower course of argument and persuasion. Pageants were presented before her, calculated to throw dishonour and reproach on the religion which she professed, and shows, made for the ostensible purpose of honouring the queen, were so conducted as to cast derision on the catholic worship. As Mary made her solemn entry into Edinburgh, she was conducted under a triumphal arch, when a boy came out of a hole, as it were from heaven, and presented to her a Bible, a psalter, and the keys of the gates, with some verses, now lost, but which we may be sure were of a protestant tendency. The rest of the pageant exhibited a terrible personification of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; and Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,

were represented as destroyed in the time of their idolatrous sacrifice. The devisers of this expressive and well-chosen emblem, intended io have had a priest burnt on the altar, (in effigy, it is to be hoped,) in the act of elevating the host; but the earl of Huntley prevented that completion of the pageant. These are the reports of Randolph, envoy of England, who was present on the occasion, and who seems to have felt that by such proceedings the protestants were acting too precipitately, and overshooting their own purpose.

These were but innuendoes of the dislike felt towards the queen's religion: the following incidents showed plainly that the more violent reformers were determined that their sovereign should not enjoy that toleration for which they themrelves had, not many years since, been humble petitioners. The prior of St. Andrew's, when he went over to France, had been warned by the preachers, that to permit the importation of one mass into the kingdom of Scotland would be more fatal than an army of ten thousand men. It is probable, however, that he did not hesitate to promise that the queen should have the free exercise of her religion, and she prepared accordingly to take advantage of the stipulation.

But when, on the Sunday after Mary's landing, preparations were made to say mass in the royal

chapel, the reformers said to each other, «Shall that idol the mass again take place within this kingdom?— it shall not.» The young master of Lindsey, showing in youth the fierceness of spirit which animated him in after-life, called out, in the court-yard of the royal palace, that «the idolatrous priest should die the death according to God's law.» The prior of St. Andrew's with great difficulty appeased the tumult, and protected the priests, whose blood would otherwise have been mingled with their sacrifice. But unwilling to avow an intention so unpopular, he was obliged to dissemble with the reformers; and while he allowed that he stood with his sword drawn at the door of the chapel, he pretended that he did not do so to protect the priest, but to prevent any Scottish man from entering to witness or partake in the idolatrous ceremony.

It was immediately after this riot, and the display of the insulting and offensive pageant before mentioned, that the young queen had the first of her celebrated interviews with John Knox, in which he knocked at her heart so rudely as to cause her to shed tears. The stern apostle of presbytery was indeed unsparing of rebuke, without sufficiently recollecting, that previous conviction is necessary before reproof can work repentance; and that, unless he had possessed

powers of inspiration, or the gift of working miracles, he could not have, by mere assertion, converted a catholic from the doctrines, however false, which she had believed in from her earliest childhood. Even Randolph, the English envoy, says of him, "I commend better the success of his doctrine and preachings than the manner of them, though I acknowledge his doctrine to be sound. His daily prayer for her is, that God will turn her heart, now obstinate against God and his truth; and if his holy will be otherwise, that he will strengthen the hearts and hands of the chosen and elect stoutly to withstand the rage of tyrants." Such orisons were little likely to conciliate the sovereign who was the object of them. Yet Knox afterwards expressed remorse that he had dealt too favourably with the queen, and had not been more vehement in opposing the mass at its first setting up; according to the opinion of those who thought that a sovereign may and ought to be resisted in an idolatrous form of worship, or, in other words, excluded from the tolerance which her subjects claim as their dearest privilege.

Tumults arose at Stirling on the same score of the queen's private worship: but though Mary felt the injury, and expressed her sense of it by weeping and sorrowing, yet she wisely passed it

over, and trusted to the influence of the prior, her brother, who, by his great interest among the wiser sort of the reformers, by proclamations banishing the monks and friars, and other popular steps in favour of the reformed religion, procured a reluctant connivance at the celebration of the catholic rites in the chapel royal. Mary, indeed, employed her brother as her first minister in all affairs, and especially in restoring quiet on the borders, where he executed many freebooters, and left England no cause of complaint.

The intercourse of Mary with that country had always stood upon a delicate and doubtful footing. Elizabeth was desirous that the treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, which ended the war of the reformation, should be formally ratified, particularly in respect of that article by which the queen of Scotland and her late husband had agreed to lay down, and never again to assume, the royal titles or arms of England. If Mary had complied with this clause without restriction, it would have been a virtual resignation of her right of succession to England through her grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Henry VII.; a sacrifice which queen Elizabeth was in no respect entitled to demand, nor queen Mary disposed to grant. Lethington offered to ratify the clause

of renunciation, if it were limited to Elizabeth's lifetime, which was all that was or could have been intended by the original treaty. But on the point of her successor Elizabeth was always desirous to preserve an affected obscurity; and to insist on entertaining any discussion involving that topic was to give her at all times the highest offence. Her ministers, therefore, were pertinacious in demanding that queen Mary should resign, in general terms, all right whatever to the crown of England, without restriction either as to time or circumstances. While their envoys were engaged in these discussions, the two queens preserved a personal correspondence, in which high-flown and flighty professions of friendship and sisterly affection served to cloak, as is usual in such cases, the want of cordiality and sincerity which pervaded the intercourse of two jealous females each suspicious of the other.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Insanity of the earl of Arran. — Lord James Stewart created earl of Mar. — The grant offends the earl of Huntley. — Breach of the peace by his son sir John Gordon. — The queen makes a progress to the north, where she is coldly received, and Inverness castle is held out against her. — The earldom of Murray is conferred on lord James, instead of that of Mar. — Huntley rebels. — Battle of Corrichie. — Suitors for Mary's hand. — She determines to consult Elizabeth. — The queen of England behaves with insincerity; recommends the earl of Leicester. — The Scots cast their eyes on Henry Darnley. — His mother's claims on the succession of England. — Henry Darnley comes to Scotland, and renders himself personally agreeable to queen Mary. — Her character at this period of her life. — Her love of more private society. — The rise of Rizzio at the Scottish court. — He becomes French secretary to the queen and a favourite. Elizabeth's displeasure at the proposed match

of Mary and Darnley. — She intrigues with the protestant party in Scotland. — The earl of Murray leaves the party of the queen, and joins that of the reformed nobles and clergymen. — Desperate plots of the earls of Darnley and Murray against each other: both fail. — The queen and Darnley are married. — Murray and the duke of Chatelherault take up arms. — The queen gathers an army, drives the insurgents from place to place, and finally compels them to retreat into England. — They are ill received by Elizabeth, who disowns them and their cause. — Mary endeavours to obtain some toleration for the persecuted catholics. — She accedes to the catholic league of Bayonne.

The young queen of Scotland conducted herself with great wisdom and popularity in the management of public business. She treated gravely of affairs of state with her council; with whom she held frequent sittings. Hunting, hawking, and other sports, filled up the day; and music and dancing were the usual amusements of the evening. These sports, however, gave additional offence and scandal to the protestant preachers, men of

ascetic and self-denying habits, wko accounted such pleasures, if not positively sinful in themselves, as at least the ready inlets to sin, and who did not, in writing or preaching on such vanities, altogether place their pens or tongues under the guidance of that charity which thinketh no evil. Still the majority of her subjects made allowance for their queen's youth, gaiety, and beauty, and, so long as she discharged her duty to her subjects in a grave and princely manner, did not blame her for endeavouring to enliven the court of her native kingdom with some shadow of the festivities which had surrounded her while on the throne of France.

In 1562 the young earl of Arran, son of the duke of Chatelherault, formerly governor of the kingdom, lodged an account of a plot, whereby the earl of Bothwell and the Hamiltons had resolved to change the administration, by murdering the prior of St. Andrew's and Lethington. But this information was attended with no important consequences, the poor young nobleman who made it having shown symptoms of lunacy. He was afterwards placed under confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, and, as will presently appear, was finally made the victim of unjust and cruel confiscation and oppression.

A more serious convulsion took place in the same year. The earl of Huntley has been mentioned as one of the few Scottish nobles who still professed the catholic religion. The family having been always loyal, had been liberally remunerated for their fidelity by former monarchs, and their estates, jurisdictions, and superiorities in the north of Scotland were almost as extensive as those which the great earls of Douglas had possessed in the south. Their power, however, was less influential, its sources being more distant from the court. The present earl had expected, from similarity of faith, to have an especial share in the favour of queen Mary; and, disappointed to find her regard engrossed by her brother lord James the prior, he viewed that statesman with jealous and envious eyes. About this time it happened that the queen conferred upon her brother the earldom of Mar and the lands belonging to it. This very natural liberality towards so near a relative increased the resentment of Huntley, who had occupied some possessions belonging to this estate without challenge, and now foresaw that the lord James, in virtue of the royal grant, would insist on resuming them. Moreover, considering his high court favour, the new earl of Mar's settlement in the north was likely to diminish Huntley's importance, and

innovate upon his supremacy in these provinces. In the earldom of Mar the lord prior of St. Andrew's had gained a great point, though it was only a part of what his ambition aimed at: for he raised his hopes to the far more wealthy earldom of Murray, also possessed by Huntley, since the year 1548, in virtue of a grant from the crown. Thus Huntley was exposed, in fact, to the hazard of a much greater patrimonial loss than he at first apprehended.

While such causes of discontent occurred betwixt these two powerful nobles, one of those instances of feudal violence took place which are so frequent in Scottish history, and so often the prelude to acts of open rebellion. In 1562, sir John Gordon, the third son of the earl of Huntley, engaged in a fray with lord Ogilvy in the streets of Edinburgh, and dangerously wounded him. The queen caused both the offenders to be strictly confined, and was supposed, at the instigation of her brother Mar, to have been peculiarly rigorous in the case of young Gordon. This was a new subject of offence; and sir John Gordon, escaping out of prison, hastened to his father's domains with loud complaints of ill usage and threats of revenge.

During this altercation the queen had determined on a royal progress to the north. It has

been strongly averred that the new earl of Mar had proposed this expedition for his own purposes. If by this it be only meant that he desired the benefit of the royal presence and countenance to enable him to enter on the estate of Mar, or, if possible, on the earldom of Murray in lieu of it, the suspicion may be very just. But there is room for positively denying that he had any thoughts of using violence against Huntley, since he brought with him, into the province where his enemy was all-powerful, only a very moderate body of southland forces.

The queen made a fatiguing, cold, and laborious journey, and was received with little courtesy in the north, where the effects of Huntley's displeasure against her brother and minister were sufficiently visible. Instead of being hailed with dutiful acclamations by crowds of submissive and faithful subjects, the aspect of the inhabitants was doubtful if not absolutely hostile, and her little troop of attendants were fain to observe the regular duties of watch and ward against surprise. Her retinue of soldiers was indeed so small, that it became necessary every man in her train, ambassadors and others, should keep watch in succession; and the queen, instead of showing female affright at the grim front of war, lamented, with the spirit of her

warlike fathers, that her sex prevented her mounting guard in turn, and forbade her to parade with jack and steel-cap, a broadsword and a Glasgow buckler. When she arrived at Inverness, the castle was held out against her by the Gordons. But the garrison proving inadequate to defend it, were forced to surrender, and the captain who had refused admission to his sovereign deservedly suffered the pains of death.

In the mean time, Mar had accomplished the point which he had long struggled for, and prevailed upon the queen to grant him the earldom of Murray instead of that of Mar, to which it was now said to be discovered that lord Erskine possessed a legal right, prior to that granted to lord James Stewart. This new arrangemant in favour of the queen's brother was the signal for open hostility.

The earl of Huntley, incensed at the recall of the royal gift of 1548 in his favour, now conceived that the ruin of his house was resolved upon, and determined to take up arms. He summoned together his vassals, and menaced an attack upon the new earl of Murray and the forces who escorted the sovereign's person.

The queen, in the mean time, proceeded to Darnoway, the principal messuage of the earldom of Murray; and having put her brother in

possession of the honours and estates belonging to that great lordship, she summoned the neighbouring barons and clans to join her array, and protect her against Huntley and his army. They brought their men to the queen accordingly, and the earl of Murray led them against the Gordons, who were posted near Corrichie. Huntley had but seven or eight hundred men, but reckoned on his interest amongst the northern barons, who had ostensibly joined Murray, but who, in reality, neither loved his person nor were willing to endure his power.

The earl of Murray drew up on a rising ground the small phalanx of southland men in whom he could confide, and commanded the northern clans, whose faith he doubted, to commence the attack on the Gordons (Oct. 28. 1562). They did so, but with no desire of making a serious impression; and recoiling from the charge came running back with their antagonists close behind them on Murray's band of spearmen, who received both fliers and pursuers with levelled lances, The onset of the Gordons, made in the Highland fashion, with drawn swords and disordered ranks, was unequal to the task of breaking so firm a battalion. The assailants retired in disorder; and the instant they did so the neighbouring clans, who had begun the fight,

anxious to secure the favour of the victors, turned their swords upon the repulsed party, and endeavoured to atone for their former flight by making slaughter amongst those before whom they had just retreated.

The consequences of the loss of this battle of Corrichie were most disastrous to the family of Huntley. The earl himself, thrown from his horse, and too unwieldy to rise from the ground, was smothered in the retreat. His body, brought to town on a pair of panniers, was afterwards produced in parliament, where a doom of forfeiture was pronounced against him. His son, sir John Gordon, condemned to be beheaded, was butchered at Aberdeen by an unskilful executioner. The doom of forfeiture was pronounced against this powerful family, and was not reversed until the 19th of April, 1567. It was supposed that the earl of Huntley's purpose, had he possessed himself of the queen's person, was to have united her in marriage with one of his sons; but as there is no evidence to prove such a charge, we cannot extend his guilt beyond his avowed designs against Murray, his feudal enemy.

Excepting the battle of Corrichie, the reign of queen Mary had hitherto passed with great tranquillity, and, setting aside the suspicions of the clergy and their more zealous followers, with

great contentment to her subjects. The Scots became naturally desirous that the race of their monarchs should be prolonged by their young queen forming a suitable match. This being generally promulgated, a beauty with a kingdom for her dower was not likely to want wooers. The archduke Charles, third son of the emperor, the infant don Carlos then heir of the Spanish monarchy, and the duke of Anjou brother of her late husband, preferred suit for Mary's hand; but as all these princes were catholics and foreigners, the alliances they proposed would have once more revived the jealousies for her freedom in church and state which Scotland had entertained, and would probably have again involved the country in an intestine war, as well as in a quarrel with England.

This event was the more to be dreaded, because the clergy and the more zealous among the reformers had pressed upon the government the necessity of demanding the queen's assent to the alterations in the church, and the modern institutions which had supplanted the ancient ecclesiastical system. The earl of Murray (by which title we must hereafter term the lord James Stewart, hitherto called the prior of St. Andrew's,) was, on the contrary, of opinion, that the protestants ought to temporise with the queen, allow

for the prejudices of her education, and wait until further conviction should open her eyes to the excellence of the reformed religion; and so warm grew the discussion between John Knox and the earl on this subject, that the former renounced Murray's friendship, and a coldness between them ensued which continued for two years.

In these delicate circumstances Mary saw the necessity of paying attention, in her choice of a husband, to the opinions and even to the prejudices of the reformers, and perceived no mode of doing this so certain as by consulting queen Elizabeth, whose opinions were not likely to be disputed by the Scottish protestants. Another powerful reason of state strongly recommended that Elizabeth should be advised with upon this occasion. The right which Mary possessed to the English succession was of a kind which Elizabeth, if she pleased, might find means of setting aside by assent of her parliament; and she might probably do so, should her kinswoman form an union with a foreign or catholic prince. On the contrary, there were hopes that if Mary should agree to be guided by her advice, Elizabeth might acknowledge the queen of Scotland, allied to a husband of her own choosing, as the lawful heir of the English throne. Sir James Melville, an accomplished diplomatist, was sent to procure,

if possible, some information upon Elizabeth's intentions in this important affair.

It may be said of Elizabeth, that if ever there was a monarch whose conduct seemed, according to the speech of the old heathen, to be governed alternately by two souls of a very different disposition and character, the supposition might be applied to her. Possessing more than masculine wisdom, magnanimity, and fortitude on most occasions, she betrayed, at some unhappy moments, even more than female weakness and malignity. Happy would it have been for both queens had Mary's request for counsel and assistance reached Elizabeth whilst she was under the influence of her better planet. The English sovereign might then, with candour and faith, have availed herself of the opportunity to conciliate the genuine friendship and to acquire the gratitude of her youthful relation, by guiding her to such a match as would have best suited the interests and assured the amity of the sister nations. Unfortunately, Elizabeth remembered with too much acuteness Mary's offensive pretensions to the crown of England, pretensions which were founded on the defect of her own title and the illegitimacy of her birth, and she already regarded the queen of Scotland rather as a rival to be subdued than a friend to be con-

ciliated. Besides, as a votaress of celibacy, queen Elizabeth was not greatly disposed to forward any marriage, more especially that of a princess who stood to her in the painful relation of a kinswoman possessing a claim to her throne, and a neighbour of her own sex and rank, between whom and herself comparisons must needs be frequently drawn with respect to wit, beauty, and accomplishments. The line of conduct prompted by these jealous feelings impelled queen Elizabeth to embrace the opportunity afforded by Mary's desiring her opinion upon her marriage, to cross, baffle, and disconcert any negotiations which might be entered into on that topic. For this purpose, after observing a great deal of oracular mystery, in order to protract matters, Elizabeth gave it as her advice, that Mary would do well to choose for her husband the earl of Leicester, as a person on whom she herself would willingly have conferred her own hand, but for her resolution to live and die a maiden queen.

The earl of Leicester, as is well known, stood towards Elizabeth in the relation of a handsome and aspiring favourite. His claims, those of personal appearance excepted, were of a very ordinary character, yet the queen had conferred upon him the highest offices of the state, and it was shrewdly suspected had favoured him with

a larger share of her own affections than she would willingly have acknowledged. It is evident, that by proposing this nobleman as a husband for Mary, Elizabeth could have no other view than to involve the queen of Scotland in a matrimonial treaty, which, while it might divert her mind from any other match, could never be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

The queen of Scots listened with approbation to Elizabeth's advice, as far as it recommended to her to honour with her choice a subject and a native of Britain, so as neither to excite the resentment of England nor the suspicions of her own subjects, by again engaging in a foreign connection. But many very reasonable considerations directed her thoughts to a person different from Leicester, a subject of her own, and a near relation to queen Elizabeth. There were circumstances in the favoured party's connection and descent which rendered the selection highly expedient.

The person on whom the choice of Mary fell was Henry Stewart, lord Darnley, eldest son of the earl of Lennox, at this time an exile in England. Matthew, the father of Darnley, was himself the son and successor of that Lennox, who was slain fighting against the allied forces of Hamilton and Douglas, near Kirkliston, on the

4th of September, 1526. Earl Matthew had been devotedly desirous of forwarding the proposed match between Edward VI. and Mary, while the latter was yet in infancy; and when the rest of the nobility entirely deserted what was called the English party, he continued attached to his engagements with Henry VIII., and rather than renounce them fled to England, under a certainty of being attainted, and placed himself under that monarch's protection. Henry was grateful, and did what he could to compensate Lennox for the evils of banishment, and the loss of his Scottish estates. He bestowed on the exiled earl the fine manor of Temple Newsome, near Leeds, and the hand of his own niece. This lady was daughter of King Henry's sister Margaret, queen-dowager of Scotland, by her second husband, the earl of Angus, and was mother of the reigning queen Mary. It will be remembered, that the queen-dowager was delivered of lady Margaret Douglas during the time that her husband and she were expelled from Scotland. Lady Margaret was, therefore, a native Englishwoman.

Now, on the failure of Henry VIII's issue those circumstances of genealogy and birth tended to establish in lady Margaret Douglas a claim to the English throne, which, according to the notion of the times, was capable of being placed in

competition with those of the queen of Scotland. This will appear more plainly from the following considerations.

Queen Mary claimed the throne of England, failing queen Elizabeth and her heirs, as grand-niece of Henry VIII., by her mother the same queen Margaret. Lady Lennox was that queen's full niece, and one degree nearer in blood to the reigning queen than was Mary herself. Besides, the countess of Lennox had the great advantage over the queen of Scotland that she was a native Englishwoman, and it was at least possible that the English lawyers, in case of a contest for the crown, might give the native of the soil a preference over the alien. This rendered the getting rid of lady Margaret Lennox's pretensions of the greatest importance to queen Mary, considering her prospects of the English succession; and it seemed so obviously desirable to unite both these titles by a marriage between Henry Darnley and the young queen of Scots, that a suspicion of it appears to have flashed across the mind of Elizabeth herself. After pointing out to Melville the various excellencies which distinguished her favourite Leicester, whom she pretended to recommend to Mary's choice, she added, pointing to Henry Darnley, « Yet you prefer to him that long lad yonder. » This be-

trayed a suspicion which Elizabeth was little disposed to see realised, that there were, even thus early, thoughts of a match between Mary and Henry Darnley. It does not, however, appear to have been deep-rooted; for, upon Lennox applying to the queen of England for leave to go to Scotland under pretence of his wife having a claim as heir female on the earldom of Angus, her royal license for the journey seems to have been willingly granted. The truth, probably, was, that Elizabeth was too confident of her power to perplex any negotiation for marriage which Mary might enter into, both by her influence over the queen of Scotland herself, which she probably over-estimated, and by the interest which her intrigues had maintained among the nobility of that kingdom. In this view, her permitting Darnley to appear as a suitor might serve only to embroil a transaction which she did not desire to terminate.

Receiving the permission of Elizabeth, the earl of Lennox returned to Scotland after twenty years' absence, where he was most favourably received. He did not indeed succeed making good his wife's claims on the earldom of Angus, which as a male fief was in the grasp of the earl of Morton, who managed it in behalf of his nephew Archibald Douglas; but great favour was shown him by the

queen, his claims on Angus were compensated by gifts from the crown, and he himself was restored in blood and estate against the forfeiture by which he was attainted.

In a few months afterwards Henry lord Darnley, the earl's only son, set sail for Scotland, with Elizabeth's permission, and about the 16th February, 1564—5, he waited upon queen Mary at Wemys castle; a most unfortunate meeting, as it proved, both for Mary and himself. There was nothing in Darnley's appearance which could raise any personal objection on the queen's part to weigh the policy which strongly recommended to her as a husband the high-born young nobleman who possessed, through his mother, a title to the succession of England which might stand in competition with her own. On the contrary, Henry lord Darnley, though of uncommon stature, was well made in proportion, possessed courteous manners and a noble mien, gained the eye and the heart of the queen by the showy accomplishments of dancing, tilting, hunting, and the like, and won the good will of her retinue by liberality, which large remittances received from his mother enabled him to maintain. He was at length emboldened by Mary's own smiles, and the general favour with which he had been received at court, to propose love to his sovereign;

and though he at first received a modest repulse, he came in course of a little time to be favourably listened to.

With the purpose better to judge of the events which follow, we must take here a short review of the queen's personal character and behaviour, adopting for our guide sir James Melville, one who had the best opportunities of knowing her, who was himself at once a sound protestant and an accomplished courtier, and whose memoirs, now freed from all suspicion of interpolation, may be justly compared with the most valuable materials which British history affords. *)

Queen Mary, since her arrival from France, had behaved herself after a manner so princely, honourably, and discreetly, that her reputation was spread abroad in all countries; and she was at the same time so courteous and affable, that, excepting the protestant preachers, whose judgment concerning a papist sovereign cannot be supposed unprejudiced, she had gained the universal love and approbation of her subjects. Unimpeachable in her public conduct, this accomplished princess loved to retire into something like pri-

*) See the late beautiful and correct edition printed from the original by the Bannatyne Club.

vate society, but always with the honourable attendance of her ladies, and accessible to the ambassadors who resided at her court. When Randolph, the English envoy, pressed matters of state upon her at such a moment, « I see, » she said, « you are weary of this reception. You had better preserve your diplomatic gravity, and return to Edinburgh, and keep all your weighty conversation till the queen return there; for I promise you I do not know myself what is now become of her, or when she will return to her throne and canopy of state. »

It would seem that Mary herself was conscious of her tendency to this easy pleasantry, and had an apprehension that it might, in an unguarded moment, be carried too far. Indeed, something of this kind occurred in the case of one Chastellar, a French cavalier, half poet, half courtier, and entire madman. The queen used to amuse herself with this adventurer's eccentricity, by which ill-judged familiarity he was encouraged to conceal himself one night in her apartment. Being detected, he was dismissed with severe censure, which did not hinder a man of such ill-regulated understanding from renewing his attempt, for which he was tried and executed. His death suited his extravagant character. He refused ghostly consolation, prepared himself for his end with the

verses of Ronsard, a French poet; and as he kneeled down to the block exclaimed, as his last words, "Farewell to the most beautiful and most cruel queen that ever lived."

While Mary was in prosperity, nothing discreditable to her arose from Chastellar's insane conduct, yet, considering the fatal issue, it must have given her much pain, and may have been the cause of the injunction which she laid upon Melville. Under this anxiety, she amiably represented to him her youth and turn to cheerfulness, and imposed upon him the delicate task, that should she at any time forget herself, and be hurried into any impropriety of speech or behaviour, he must interpose his admonition to reform the same. Melville would willingly have shifted this office upon the earl of Murray and Lethington, by whom Mary's state affairs were managed; but the queen compelled him to accept the office of her monitor, as she could, she said, endure rebuke more willingly from a disinterested friend than from her immediate ministers.

There was at this time in the court of Mary a man named David Rizzio, or Riccio, a native of Turin, a person of poor parentage, who had been, however, well educated, and, among other accomplishments, was an excellent musician. He came to Scotland in the train of an ambassador

from Savoy; but his assistance being found useful to fill a part in the queen's private concerts, he left the envoy's service for that of Mary. Rizzio's knowledge of languages recommended him to the queen, who employed him in conducting her foreign correspondence; and finding him apt, intelligent, and useful, upon the departure of her French secretary she promoted the Piedmontese to that confidential office. This situation, of course, procured him easy and frequent access to her presence and to her ear. The familiarity with which the queen naturally received him, as a man of little consequence, whose talents served, and whose accomplishments amused her, excited the resentment of the fierce nobility of Scotland. They observed with indignation that the foreign secretary, in virtue of his office, presented all papers to be signed by her majesty; and some of them would shoulder him, and frown on him, when they met him in the presence chamber. Others who had suits at court made the same observations, but, acting upon different principles, adressed themselves to the secretary for the furtherance of their business; and Rizzio became rich from the gifts that flowed in upon him.

Yet the poor secretary felt himself surrounded by enemies, and bewailed his condition to Mel-

ville as one of envy and danger. Melville, with his usual good sense, counselled him to decline making any ostentation of his credit with the queen, and to avoid showing any possession of her ear by forbearing to speak with her apart in the presence of her nobility. But Rizzio afterwards told Melville that the queen desired him to wait upon her with his usual freedom. The sensible and faithful Melville then mentioned to the queen herself the conversation which had taken place, and the envy which her favour to Rizzio was drawing upon a man whose understanding was not very well able to endure it. The queen took no offence at the rebuke, but said she had used Rizzio no otherwise than his predecessor in office, nor would she be controlled in the management of her private correspondence.

However imprudent Mary's conduct might be, there is no reason to believe that her intercourse with her secretary excited at this period of her life any farther censure, than that she allowed too much influence in affairs of business to a low-born foreigner raised from a mean condition. It has been since used as affording a pretext for charges of a grosser nature.

The influence of signor David, as he was termed, was accounted so powerful, that Henry Darnley, in his suit to Mary, conceived it prudent to

secure the countenance of Rizzio, whose vanity became more highly elevated by his being supposed to possess influence on such an occasion.

Meantime Elizabeth, to her astonishment and mortification learned that the queen of Scotland had formed an engagement with young Darnley, which was about to end in marriage. That sovereign had, no doubt, hoped, that in permitting Darnley to go down to Scotland, she was only putting another puppet on the stage, whom she could withdraw at pleasure, since having all the earl of Lennox's English property in her power, she might conceive that she possessed the regulation of his motions and those of his son. She was highly irritated at her disappointment. Her privy council echoed back a list, which she herself had suggested, of imaginary dangers attending Mary's match with Darnley, and an ambassador extraordinary was sent to enforce at the Scottish court the representations of Elizabeth and her council against the choice of an independent sovereign. Mary would certainly have acted as a weak queen, and an unusually tame-spirited person, if she had submitted to this insult. She avowed her intention of marrying Darnley, justified herself with dignity for so doing, affected at the same time a great desire to reconcile her sister sovereign to the match,

and succeeded in adducing plausible arguments to prove that her choice possessed those recommendations which Elizabeth had in the commencement of their negotiation so pointedly demanded. She even offered to delay the actual marriage, if she could by that sacrifice obtain the approbation of her good sister and ally.

From the firm tone of Mary's reply it was evident that she had determined on the match; and Elizabeth saw it could only be broken off by some domestic opposition amongst the Scottish subjects, for exciting which the English queen possessed ample means. The most formidable of these was her influence with the whole body of zealous protestants, who, since the wars with the French in 1560, looked upon Elizabeth as their especial friend, and the surest protectress of their faith. This influence was much increased at the crisis we speak of, from the earl of Murray having withdrawn himself from the court, and placed himself in opposition to the queen's intended marriage with Darnley.

The earl of Murray had hitherto been the queen's principal minister, and had managed the affairs of the kingdom with equal skill and good fortune. But in this proposed match he foresaw the loss of his power. He was besides especially

offended that the earl of Bothwell, his personal enemy, was suffered to return to court, having been banished from thence for an alleged conspiracy against his life. To remove this cause of complaint, Bothwell was again driven into exile; yet no persuasion could make Murray give consent to the proposed marriage. Darnley, with the rash folly and impetuosity of youth, had shown himself unfriendly to his bride's brother, jealous of his power, and envious of the large estates which that power had been the means of accumulating. On such topics he dwelt in the hearing even of those who vere sure to report what he said to the jealous minister, whom it chiefly interested. Foreseeing, therefore, an enemy to his own person and authority in the queen's proposed husband, Murray's eyes at the same time became rather suddenly opened to the great dangers which this match was likely to bring upon the protestant religion. Hitherto his zeal had not been alarmed at the exercise of the catholic superstition in the queen's household; we have even seen him in person, with his drawn sword in his hand, defend the entrance of her private chapel during the celebration of the mass. But now that Mary was about to take a husband of her own persuasion, though by no means a bigoted papist, he joined the

opinion of those who held one mass to be more dangerous to the commonwealth than an invasion of ten thousand men. A reconciliation was effected between the earl of Murray and John Knox, between whom a quarrel had previously arisen, on account of the indulgence of the earl to queen Mary; and as the same difference of opinion no longer existed betwixt them, they once more thought with the same heart, and saw with the same eye, on the affairs of church and state.

Murray, therefore, now countenanced the ministers of the reformed religion, who demanded, by a formal act of the national assembly of the church, that the celebration of the mass should in all cases be restrained, as well before the queen's person as in view of the subject. This extravagant proposal was followed by the more reasonable request that some means of subsistence, out of the revenues and domains of the catholic church, should be assigned to the clergy. Then came a condition, that the remainder of the church property, after deducting the stipends of the clergy, should be applied to the maintenance of the poor, and the support of schools and places of education. That this last stipulation should be granted, considering it must have greatly im-

poverished the nobles who had possessed themselves of these religious revenues, was very improbable; but it was followed by one which, in the present state of the world, was totally impossible, since it prayed for the entire suppression of vice and immorality. To these demands the queen mildly replied that she was not yet satisfied of the idolatry of the mass, and pleaded with much gentleness for the enjoyment of that liberty of conscience for herself which she was willing to allow to others. She promised relief to the complaints of the preachers, and regular payment of their salaries. The other demands she passed over in prudent silence.

The queen's proposals and exertions gained a considerable majority of the nobility to assent to her marriage; but Murray remained irreconcilable. The duke of Chatelherault joined his party, in apprehension that the exaltation of the Lennox family would prove the destruction of his own, considering the deadly feud that existed between the house of Hamilton and that of Lennox, and not forgetful, probably, of his own claims to the throne, in case the queen died without issue.

The discord between the two parties, according to the genius of the time, first broke out

in secret conspiracies of the most deadly kind. Darnley engaged in a plot to assassinate Murray; and Murray laid an ambush for the purpose of making Darnley and the queen prisoners, with the intention of delivering up the proposed bride-groom to Elizabeth, and placing Mary in some place of secure confinement. Both plots were doomed to succeed, but not at the time or by the means now resorted to. They failed for the present on either side.

Matters being come to this crisis, the queen resolved to complete, without delay, the purpose which she meditated; and which, recommended first by considerations of policy, had now become an affair in which her heart was deeply though hastily interested. On the 29th of July, 1565, she married Darnley, a dispensation by the pope having been previously obtained, and the ceremonial being performed after the forms of the catholic ritual. At their union he was declared king of Scotland.

Murray and the duke of Chatelherault, together with Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, took arms, all, the duke excepted, zealous professors of the protestant religion. But, ere they could assemble two thousand horse, they were attackel

by the queen's army, the royal vassals having on Mary's summons appeared with good will and in great numbers. She herself, arrayed in light armour, and wearing pistols at the saddle-bow, rode at the head of her troops. The insurgents were obliged to retreat before the queen from one place to another, apparently without any aim or object save to escape her pursuit, from which circumstance their war was remembered by the name of the Roundabout Raid. The insurgent nobles were at length pressed so hard that they were compelled to disband their forces, and retreat into England, where, as they had taken arms in consequence of Elizabeth's instigation, they hoped for relief and protection. Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, one on the part of the reformers, the other as representing his kinsmen, the Hamiltons, were despatched by their associates to represent their necessities, and to crave the aid and support which they thought themselves entitled to expect from the English queen.

But their reception was very different from their expectations. Elizabeth now beheld in them persons who could render her no immediate services: and she was anxious to escape from the reproaches of the ambassadors of the principal European pow-

ers, who accused her of betraying the cause of sovereigns in general, by the encouragement she had afforded to the rebels of Scotland.

Galled at finding herself exposed to reproaches to which her own notions of royal authority made her peculiarly sensitive, Elizabeth resolved so to deal with the envoys of the banished lords as should make them the means of clearing her from such a scandal at the expense of their own honour.

With this view she caused it to be secretly intimated to the earl of Murray and his associate, that they would lose queen Elizabeth's favour and protection at once and for ever, if they presumed to bring forward claims in virtue of any understanding betwixt her and them previous to their insurrection. The envoys were forced to consent to this humiliating compromise, expecting, no doubt, that the queen would of herself recollect the promises which they, in obedience to her command, abstained from insisting upon.

Accordingly when Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, appeared before Elizabeth, she extorted from the fugitive Scots an avowal that she

had not encouraged them in their rebellion, and, having thus secured her own exculpation, she turned short on them, saying, «You have now spoken truth, for neither I nor any in my name has instigated your revolt from your sovereign. Begone, like traitors as you are!» Notwithstanding this seemingly severe reception, the exiles were permitted to skulk about on the southern side of the border, and were secretly supplied with money by Elizabeth. The Hamiltons had co'-operated but not coalesced with Murray and his associates. The insurrection of the former was on different principles from that of the latter. The duke of Chatelherault negociated for himself and his party independently of Murray, and with much difficulty obtained on submission a separate pardon from the Scottish queen.

Mary was now at the summit of her wishes. She was wedded to the choice of her heart: all opposition to her will lay prostrate at her feet; and by pressing a prosecution against Murray and his associates, it was in her power to have their estates forfeited, and their persons banished from Scotland for ever.

In a parliament which was convoked for this purpose, the queen entertained a hope that she

might procure for those of her own communion at least some degree of toleration and some relief from the persecution of the other party. It was but a short time before, that a catholic priest had been seized in the act of saying mass at Easter. Invested in his garments, and with the chalice bound to his hand, he was tied to the market cross of Edinburgh, and there pelted with filth and mud, which the historian of the kirk calls serving him with his Easter eggs. Where such disgraceful violence could be permitted, the queen might be pardoned, when she desired that those who followed the same religion with herself might be sheltered at least from violence and indignity.

But we must record in far different terms Mary's accession to the league of Bayonne, the object of which, on the part of France, Spain, and the other contracting powers, was the utter destruction and deletion of the protestant religion, by the means of fraud or force, as opportunity should most readily present itself. In becoming a member of this league, Mary assumed the right ol lording it over the consciences of others, in the unjust and violent manner which she felt so oppressive when exercised towards herself and the catholics. But, whatever the queen

meant to do in behalf of those of her own religion, a course of events was now to take place which was doomed to end in depriving Mary of all power as a sovereign, whether for good or for evil.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Character of Henry Darnley — He quarrels with Mary. — Conceives hatred against Rizzio, who is murdered. — The king forsakes and disowns the conspirators, who fly to England. — Murray returns from exile, and is reconciled to the queen. — Question as to the guilt or innocence of Mary. — Her continued quarrel with Darnley, who threatens to go abroad, and gives his wife other subjects of complaint. — Bothwell rises in the queen's favour. — His history. — He is restored upon his enemy Murray's exile, and reconciled to him on his return. — Elizabeth exasperated against Mary on her bearing a son. — Bothwell is made keeper of Liddisdale. — Is wounded. — Mary visits him at the Hermitage castle. — Apparent reconciliation between Mary and Darnley. — Darnley is murdered. — Consequences of that atrocity. — Acquittal of Bothwell. — The marriage of the queen. — Insurrection. — The queen flies to Dunbar. — Advances with an army to Carberry Hill. — Bothwell flies. — The queen surrenders. — She is carried to

Edinburgh. — Insulted by the populace. — Sent prisoner to Lochleven — She resigns her crown. — The earl of Murray is declared regent.

The feeble yet violent character of Darnley was the primary cause of Mary's misfortunes; for, until her marriage with that unhappy prince, her life had flowed in a free and even channel, and her government for the last two years had been on the whole happy and prosperous. From that unhappy era it was almost an uninterrupted succession of misfortunes.

Yet in a superficial view the match had much to recommend it. It absorbed in that of the queen another claim of succession to the English throne which might have been preferred to her's. Her husband was handsome, lively, and possessed of external accomplishments; while Mary, estimating his intellectual qualities with the fondness which is entertained towards a beloved object, gave him credit at least for common sense, and common gratitude.

Unhappily the husband whom she had chosen was four years younger than herself, and, still

more unluckily, he was an impatient and presumptuous fool, of violent passions and weak judgment, who could never have written himself man in the true sense of the word, had he lived to an antediluvian age. He was ungrateful to the queen, though she from attachment had shared her rank with him; and, without being thankful for the favours which her affection had heaped upon him, he was peevish and splenetic when any thing was withheld. His father's authority he set at nought; so that the earl of Lennox left the court in disgust, sick of beholding his son indulge himself not merely in youthful pleasures, but in youthful vices, with a disregard to decency which made Mary blush for her unhappy choice of a dissolute, disrespectful boy, of loose habits and ungovernable temper, to be her partner on such a throne as that of Scotland. Insolent and imperious in his temper, Darnley endured no check, however kindly given, and sought the crown matrimonial (implying an equal share with the queen in the sovereignty) with so much eagerness and impatience as greatly disgusted Mary. In fine, she became weary of the society of a man who could not govern himself, and would not be ruled by his benefactress or any one else. How can this be wonderful? since, while Mary did every thing to please him,

Darnley could not be prevailed on to yield to her in the smallest point, either to show his affection as a husband, or his duty as a subject.

Darnley, finding that he lost ground in the queen's affections, was disposed, as is usually the case with persons of his temper, rather to impute this growing dislike to the suggestions of some private enemy than to his own demerits. The person who chiefly incurred his suspicion was Rizzio. This foreigner had been his friend before his marriage, and favoured his suit to the utmost of his power, but since that event had taken the freedom to offer some remonstrances which were unacceptable. This increased the king's resentment; and when he began to impute to the Italian secretary the delay in bestowing on him the crown matrimonial, he hesitated not to seek revenge for the supposed offence by the most deadly means.

With this purpose the young king applied to the earl of Morton and the rest of the Douglases, who, being related to his mother on the side of her father Angus, had seen his preferment with much interest. They had looked with pride upon their kinsman's advancement to a share of sovereign power, and in a country where human

life was held cheap they were sufficiently ready to gratify him by ridding him of a wretched musician, who had intruded himself upon the affairs of state, and ventured to propose himself as a patron or an opposer of nobles. They were more willing to render the young king this service, because they considered Rizzio as chief instigator of the severe measures menaced against the earl of Murray and the exiled lords, and a great encourager of the catholic religion.

When it was settled that Rizzio should die, the manner of his murder was next debated. Morton, Ruthven, and others of their party, proposed that the secretary should be seized as he crossed the court of the palace, or in his own lodgings, and then destined to the fate which Cochrane underwent, when the chief of the Douglas family acquired the title of Bell-the-Cat. But nothing would satisfy Darnley save that the victim should be seized in the presence of the queen herself, that she might share the alarm, and hear the taunts with which it was his purpose to upbraid her favourite. Considering that the queen was seven months advanced in her pregnancy when such a scene of violence and horror was to be acted in her presence, we recoil from the brutality alike of him who planned

and of those who calmly undertook to execute an action so brutal and unmanly.

On the 9th of March, 1566, this bloody and extraordinary scene was acted. The queen was seated at supper in a small cabinet adjoining to her bedroom, with the countess of Argyle, Rizzio, and one or two other persons. Darnley suddenly entered the apartment, and, without addressing or saluting the company, gazed on Rizzio with a sullen and vindictive look. After him followed lord Ruthven, pale and ghastly, having risen from a bed of long sickness to be chief actor in this savage deed: other armed men appeared behind. Ruthven called upon Rizzio to come forth from a place which he was unworthy to hold. The miserable Italian, perceiving he was the destined victim of this violent intrusion, started up, and seizing the queen by the skirts of her gown, implored her protection. Mary was speedily forced by the king from his hold. George Douglas, a bastard of the Angus family, snatched the king's own dagger from his side, and struck Rizzio a blow; he was then dragged into the outer apartment, and slain with fifty-six wounds. The queen exhausted herself in prayers and entreaties for the wretched man's life; but when she was at length informed

that her servant was slain, she said, « I will then dry my tears, and study revenge. » During the perpetration of this murder, Morton, the chancellor of the kingdom, whose duty it was to enforce the laws of the realm, kept the doors of the palace with one hundred and sixty armed men, to insure the perpetration of the murder.

Darnley, as soon as this abominable crime was committed, was seized with the irresolution and fear which, in minds like his, often follow acts of extravagant violence. He would now have been well pleased to have been free from the guilt which had originated with him; and to atone in part for the violence which the queen had suffered, he aided and accompanied her in her flight from Edinburgh to the castle of Dunbar, where she was instantly joined by Huntley, Bothwell, and others, her most faithful nobles. She was soon at the head of an army of eight thousand men, a force against which the murderers of Rizzio could not hope to make a stand. Indeed, all the plans which were to have followed this atrocious action were disconcerted by the defection of Darnley and his unexpected reconciliation with the queen.

In the mean while the exiled earls of Murray and Argyle having learned the success of the

conspiracy against Rizzio, left England, hoping to find Morton and Ruthven at the head of affairs: instead of which, they met them reduced to extremity, and on the point of flying to that kingdom. Murray and his companions, however, reaped this advantage from the misfortune of their friends, that the queen, all resentment against their rebellion being lost in the sense of this later and deadlier insult, showed herself sufficiently willing to grant remission of their treasons provided they would detach themselves from Morton and his accomplices. To this Murray did not hesitate to agree; and thus was admitted to the queen's favour, while Morton and his associates went to occupy those quarters in Northumberland which had been lately tenanted by the lords concerned in the Roundabout Raid.

When Mary and Murray met together, the queen wept: she probably felt at the moment how much she had suffered by indulging a precipitate passion for Darnley contrary to her brother's advice. The earl was also moved; and could confidence have been restored between them even then, it is possible that neither might have filled a bloody grave. The fame of Mary was as yet untinged by scandal; for we may

treat as a fiction of later date the gross impeachment of a criminal intrigue with Rizzio, which, indeed, must be regarded as totally impossible, unless by those who conceive her, contrary to the report of all who approached her person, to have been a monster of unlimited depravity. * The earl of Murray had as yet

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* Dr. Robertson, no partial judge of Mary's conduct, makes this clear. Rizzio's advancement to the post of secretary, which first gave him access to the queen's person, took place only two months before the arrival of Darnley at the court of Scotland. Darnley was early distinguished by the queen with regard, which terminated in strong affection. Rizzio was the confident of the lover, and forwarded a suit which would have been fatal to his own influence if he had been the queen's paramour. For several months the queen's passion for Darnley continued unabated, and she proved with child soon after the marriage. «From these circumstances," says the historian, «it seems almost impos sible that the queen, unless we suppose her a woman utterly abandoned, could carry on any criminal intrigue with Rizzio." — *History of Scotland*, book iv.

formed no connections so indissoluble as must have necessarily engaged him in a war against his sister's person and authority. But a deep jealousy had taken possession of both, and neither, it is probable, felt disposed to trust the other.

We have now arrived at a point of our history where we must either add another volume to a controversy which has produced so many, or by compressing into a concise form the events of the mournful tale, and expressing our own general opinion as it arises out of them, refer the readers who may doubt our conclusions, and desire means by which to form their own, to the works in which the charge has been urged and the defence maintained. Indeed, no enquiry or research has ever been able to bring us either to that clear opinion upon the guilt of Mary which is expressed by many authors, or guide us to that triumphant conclusion in favour of her innocence of all accession, direct or tacit, to the death of her husband, which others have maintained with the same obstinacy. Arguing from probabilities, where there are but few ascertained facts to guide us, we have been led to adopt the opinion expressed by Scottish juries, in a verdict of Not Proven, when they

are disposed to say that there is an insufficiency of proof to ascertain the guilt of an accused person, while there yet exist such shades of suspicion as do not warrant his discharge without some formal expression of the doubts which the inquest entertain of his guilt or innocence. These things premised, we proceed in our narrative.

Henry Darnley was induced by the queen to publish a declaration, in which he boldly denied all accession to the act of violence which had been committed under his express instigation. But this mean step only brought upon him hatred and contempt. The queen prosecuted seven of the murderers of Rizzio; and it is certainly to the praise of her clemency that only two mean men were executed for a conspiracy of an odious character, in which so many persons of influence had been implicated. If Mary acted thus moderately in order to prevent the scandal which would have been caused by any of the superior conspirators alleging in defence the command of the king, she was ill requited by her husband for having sacrificed her own resentment to cover his honour. He resumed his vicious and offensive habits, indulged without restraint his propensity to low company

and vulgar debauchery, and by his starts of arrogance and disrespect often, even in public, forced tears from the queen's eyes

The birth of a son, afterwards James VI., of whom Mary was delivered, June 19. 1566, created no reconciliation between his parents. Darnley's selfish and wayward temper was not capable of such restraint as to forbear repeated occasions of offence; and Mary, a queen and a woman, was receiving new insults, ere yet she had forgotten that the man whom she had raised up from comparative obscurity had so lately ushered a band of armed murderers into her bedroom to assassinate in her presence a favourite domestic. The consequence was a breach betwixt them, which was every day more apparent.

Discountenanced by the queen, Darnley was equally disregarded by the nobility, and not only by such of them as were guided by her influence, but by others, who, allied to Morton and his associates, banished on account of Rizzio's murder, now resented Darnley's desertion of their cause. In one of those fits of impatience which he felt at the general neglect and insignificance to which he saw himself reduced, this silly and petulant boy thought of leaving

the kingdom. His father, the earl of Lennox, made the queen acquainted with this resolution, and in vain endeavoured to bring him to renounce it. The queen had recourse to argument and even entreaty, to induce her wayward husband to explain the motive of his intended journey, which must be prejudicial to the honour of both. He was sullen, and finding that he had means of giving her pain, was proof even against her caresses, and no less against the arguments of the privy council.

During all this interval, the cause of the domestic quarrel, at least the scandal of its being made public, seems to rest on Darnley's side exclusively. He repined that he was not promoted to higher power or authority, although he was incapable of managing, and had most grossly abused, the portion which he already enjoyed. He complained he had not waiting and attendance suitable to his rank. Mary refuted the objection, by replying that her own servants were always ordered to attend on her husband, and that she could not compel the nobility to wait upon him, since it was only his own courtesy and urbanity which could bind them to his person. Historians have added to Darnley's complaints of ill usage one which he himself did not

make, namely, that he was left unfurnished with money and necessaries. The books of the treasury state, in contradiction of this, that payments in money and furnishings had been made on Darnley's account, within three weeks, to a greater extent than the queen had drawn for six months. Le Croc, the French ambassador, informs us, that at this period, when the queen has been certainly grossly misrepresented by those who labour to make her appear as culpable as possible, he never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured, nor had so great harmony ever prevailed at court; an effect to be entirely ascribed to Mary's own prudent conduct. This was also to be speedily changed by an unhappy alteration in those measures which produced it.

A favourite was now arising at court, to whose malign influence are to be imputed the principal errors of Mary's life and the greatest misfortunes of her reign. James earl of Bothwell was born of a powerful family, and was lord high admiral of Scotland. He professed the old religion; and was the only nobleman, except the lord Seton, who had adhered to Mary of Guise during the war of 1659—60. In subsequent state commotions he had uniformly taken the part which

was most in accordance with the queen's wishes. In other respects a bold ambitious man, of an impetuous temper, he was repeatedly engaged in feuds which he was often unable to support. The latest quarrel of this kind was with the powerful earl of Murray, who accused him of an attempt to assassinate him. Bothwell, unable to defend himself, fled to France. He returned in 1664—5; but Murray still insisted on his being brought to trial; and as the accuser proposed to attend the justice-court with an army of five thousand men, the accused party, unable to face an opponent so powerful, withdrew a second time from the country. When Murray fell into disgrace for opposing the queen's marriage with Darnley, his enemies naturally regained Mary's favour. Thus lord Gordon, whose father had fallen in battle with Murray at Corrichis, was restored to his honours and estates, and Bothwell was recalled from France. Their feud with Murray, then in his turn a banished man, was a recommendation to the queen; and Bothwell obtained the important charge of warden and lieutenant-general of all the marches. At the time of Rizzio's murder Bothwell attempted to resist the conspirators; and although he failed in that effort, he afterwards materially aided Mary's escape from Edinburgh to Dunbar; and

furnished a part of the army with which she marched back to Edinburgh, and drove Morton into exile. He was rewarded with the office of keeper of Dunbar castle. As this strong fortress is situated in East Lothian, where the possessions of his clan lay, the office was of considerable importance to him. Lastly, when the queen was reconciled to Murray and Argyle, she made it a condition that these lords should become friends with Bothwell and Huntley.

All these instances of distinction conferred on Bothwell were thus far very natural, as the queen might be disposed to favour a subject of his high rank, who had remained uniformly steady to her cause, when others had been engaged in actions of outrage and violence against her authority. But, previous to the queen's confinement in June, 1566, Bothwell had not acquired any remarkable ascendency in the queen's counsels. For at that interesting period, when he and Huntley desired to be permitted to lodge in the castle of Edinburgh, they were denied admittance by Murray, without the queen's expressing any displeasure at the refusal of their request. There can be no doubt, however, that Bothwell soon after this date rose into eminent personal favour with his sovereign. As he was of an insolent and profligate character, he is said to have been generally hated.

It seems probable that the reconciliation between Murray and this new favourite was deceitful on both sides, and that the former only gave way to the queen's pleasure, in hopes that the presumption of Bothwell would speedily engage him in some new trouble, and afford ground for a fresh charge against him. From July 19. 1566, when the queen's month of confinement ended, till the beginning of October in the same year, is the space allowed to be filled up by the accusers of Mary with the queen's growing passion for Bothwell, and its termination, as they allege, in a guilty intrigue. The time seems very short for the purpose, although, considering the situation of Mary and her husband, and the terms on which they stood, the space might be sufficient for Bothwell to climb to such a degree of favour as should encourage the daring ambition of a presumptuous man, and stir him to the boldest measures, in order to its gratification. Meanwhile other and different actors were becoming daily more interested in hastening the fate of the unfortunate Mary.

Elizabeth, her powerful neighbour, had never looked on the queen of Scotland save with an evil eye; but the birth of the infant prince gave her rival such a decisive superiority, that

on hearing of the event the queen of England could not conceal her mortification. She was in great mirth and engaged in dancing when the news reached her. But on hearing it the scene was changed. Elizabeth left the dance, and sat down, reclining her head upon her hand, and bursting out to her ladies with the melancholy exclamation, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself remained but a barren stock. On the next morning she indeed recovered that command of herself which was habitual to her, and pretending the greatest joy at the news of her good sister's delivery, said that the pleasure she received from the intelligence had chased away a sickness which had before oppressed her. She accepted with apparent willingness the honour of being god mother to the infant, and locking her discontent within her breast, strove to appear the kind kinswoman and friendly ally.

Elizabeth's private mortification at this event did not arise exclusively from female envy. The birth of an heir to the Scottish queen's pretensions gave them a popularity in England which they did not before possess; and Mary's ambassadors by their communication with persons of consequence in England, both catholics and

protestants, successfully endeavoured to form a faction in favour of their mistress who might combine to obtain from Elizabeth, what she was equally loth and fearful to grant, a recognition of her Scottish kinswoman as successor to her throne. A party began to appear even in the English parliament, who proposed to appease the general anxiety about the uncertainty of the succession after the demise of the reigning queen by such a declaration. And in these pressing circumstances queen Elizabeth found additional reasons for disliking Mary, and for being heartily desirous to embroil her kinswoman's affairs at home, so as effectually to prevent her urging claims of succession in England. Fate and Mary's misfortunes or misconduct were not long in affording the English queen a more ample opportunity for this purpose than her most sanguine hopes could have augured.

Among other preferments which had been showered on the new favourite, Bothwell had received the important charge of keeper of the castle of Hermitage, and of the valley of Liddisdale. In the beginning of October, 1566, he set out for Liddisdale, to execute his charge as keeper of that disorderly country. On the 7th of the same month he was wounded by an out-

lawed borderer whom he attempted to make prisoner with his own hand. These tidings and the outlaw's head were instantly sent to queen Mary, who was then at no great distance from the disorderly district where the accident happened, having arrived at Jedburgh about the 8th of the month, with the purpose, according to a previous arrangement of the privy council, of residing there for eight days, to superintend the proceedings of the circuit courts held for the despatch of justice. On the 16th, she went from Jedburgh to Hermitage castle, to visit Bothwell, a distance of twenty statute miles, and returned, a circumstance to be specially noted, the same day. Her accusers represent this as the visit of an anxious and fond woman to a wounded lover; while those who favour Mary's cause attribute the step to a sense of consideration for a supposed well-deserving subject, and to a desire personally to investigate the cause of an outrage which was a high insult to her royal authority. It is certainly a favourable circumstance, overlooked or misrepresented by the enemies of Mary's reputation, that her visit was not nearly so precipitate as has been represented, but that eight days, at least, must have intervened between her hearing of Bothwell's wound and her visit to the castle of Her-

mitage. A journey undertaken after such an interval has not the appearance of being performed at the impulse of passion, but seems rather to have flowed from some political motive; and the queen's readiness to take arms in person both previously to the battle of Corrichie and at the Roundabout Raid may account for her dauntlessly approaching a disturbed district in her dominions, without supposing her to be acting upon the impulse of a guilty passion, or even an inordinate favour for her wounded officer. That the queen had much regard for Bothwell cannot be doubted. The question is, whether she carried it to a guilty extent; and in candour we cannot say that this brief visit at Hermitage, undertaken eight days at the least after she had heard that Bothwell was wounded in the hand (for it is material to remark that the hurt was not dangerous), carries to us the conviction which others have derived from it. After her fatiguing journey, for she rode to Hermitage and returned on the same day, a circumstance also material, Mary was seized with an illness which brought her to the point of death; and detained her for a month in the little town of Jedburgh, ere she was strong enough to prosecute her journey.

During all the period of the queen's illness Darnley came not near his wife; and it is little wonder that when he did appear at Jedburgh, on the 28th of October, he was so coldly received, that finding himself lightly regarded, he returned the next day. Every thing argued a continuance of discord in the royal family; and the nobles around the queen were now engaged in intrigues which turned upon the dissolving of the ill-assorted marriage by some mode or other. Maitland of Lethington, Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, and others, were accessory to these dark consultations, and we cannot suppose Murray wholly ignorant of them. It was resolved amongst them that a divorce between Darnley and the queen should be effected, and that the price paid by Mary for her emancipation from that yoke should be a free pardon to Morton and the exiles guilty of the conspiracy against Rizzio.

This, as the advice of a great part of her counsellors, was suggested to Mary, then resident at the castle of Craigmillar. She peremptorily refused her consent to the proposal of divorce, as a measure which could not be adopted without throwing discredit on her own reputation, and some doubt on the legitimacy of her child.

But during the festivities of the christening of James, at Stirling, Mary lent an ear to the various intercessions urged in behelf of Morton and his accomplices, and granted them a free pardon excepting only George Douglas, the portulate, as he was termed, of Aberbrothick, who struck the first blow at Rizzio; and she purposed, according to Melville's account, to return to the mild and gracious kind of government which had distinguished her first arrival. «But, alas!» said that faithful servant, «she had too many evil counsellors about her.» It was determined amongst them, that, instead of the proposed divorce, Darnley should be assassinated. With Morton, Bothwell united himself in apparent friendship; and we have the testimony of the former earl to prove that he was privy to the desperate deed which Bothwell meditated, although he alleges he yielded no consent to it.

Darnley attended the splendid christening of his son, but without meeting either notice or distinction. After lingering for about a week amid festivities of which he was no partaker, he went to join his father at Glasgow, where he took the small-pox. The queen despatched her physician to attend him, but went not to

him herself; for which the health of her son was alleged as a reason. At length, about the 24th of January, Mary went from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and had a friendly interview with Darnley, with whom she afterwards lived upon apparently good terms. If this was a constraint put on the queen, she had not long to endure it.

Mary and Darnley left Glasgow in company, and reached Edinburgh on the 31st of January. The king's illness was assigned as a reason for quartering him apart from the palace where his wife and child resided. A solitary house, called the Kirk of Field, in the suburbs of the city, where the college is now situated, was appointed for his reception. Mary regularly visited him, and sometimes slept in the same house. On the Monday before his murder, she passed the evening with him until it was time to attend a masque which was to be given in the palace, on the occasion of a wedding in the royal household. About two in the morning of Tuesday, Bothwell, with a selected party of desperate men, opened the under apartments of the Kirk of Field by means of false keys, and laid a lighted match to a quantity of powder which had been previously placed beneath the king's apartment. After a few anxious moments had passed, Both-

well became impatient, and despatched one of the ruffians who was present to see whether the match was still burning. The accomplice did not hesitate to obey the commission, and returned with information that the light was still burning and the fire would presently reach the powder. After this the party waited calmly till the house blew up, when Bothwell retired, satisfied that, as the price of this enormous crime, he had purchased a title to the hand of a queen. There is reason to believe that several of the principal nobles and statesmen were previously acquainted with the bloody purpose. The earl of Morton confessed at his death that he knew of such an intention; and his cousin, the notorious Archibald Douglas, parson titular of Glasgow, was present at the execution. Whether Mary herself was conscious of this great crime is a question which has long been a controversial passage of Scottish history, to which we shall hereafter turn the reader's attention.

The energetic character of the queen, the activity with which she had hitherto suppressed all opposition to her will as soon as such was manifested, and the impulse which she had given to the machine of her government; prevented for a time the effect of the terrible shock

communicated by this abominable murder, which made, nevertheless, a deep impression on the public mind. Compassion for the young king's fate gave Darnley, who enjoyed little love or respect while he lived, a degree of posthumous popularity; and the desire of seeing his murder revenged was soon a general sentiment. Placards appeared in the most public places in the city, and voices were heard in streets at dead of night, charging the murder on Bothwell, towards whom universal suspicion was directed, and insinuating that the queen had been privy to the conspiracy against her husband's life. The terms of discord on which she had lived with Darnley, and the high favour to which Bothwell had risen, combined to create such a rumour.

Lennox, the father of the deceased Darnley, had naturally shared his son's disgrace, though not his demerits. He now pressed the queen for vengeance, and declared his own suspicion of Bothwell. In answer to his importunity, a meeting of the privy council, held on the 28th day of March, named the 13th of April as the day of trying Bothwell for the murder of the king. Lennox the accuser complained of the precipitancy with which the trial was forced forward. He required that the person accused of such a

crime should be secured in prison, and, for decency's sake at least, excluded from the presence of the widowed queen.

The trial was nevertheless brought on at the appointed period with most indecorous precipitation. Bothwell appeared at the bar surrounded by armed friends, and backed by mercenary soldiers. The earl of Morton on the one hand, and Lethington on the other, supported the prisoner as he entered the court of justiciary. Lennox, unable to face such a confederacy, protested by one of his retainers against any further procedure in the trial, as carried on against law. It was determined, however, that the trial should proceed without respect to the remonstrance of Lennox; and as no prosecutor appeared, and no evidence was adduced in support of the charge, Bothwell was of course acquitted. Lennox fled precipitately to England, doubting of his personal safety, when a man of a character so violent and profligate as Bothwell was possessed of the power of triumphing over the laws.

The queen continued to treat Bothwell as if he bad been acquitted in the most ample and honourable manner. In a parliament which was

held two days after the trial, he carried the sceptre before the queen's person, and received a full confirmation from that assembly of all the gifts and honours which Mary had lavished on him, not forgetting the keeping of Edinburgh castle, the most importaut fortress in the kingdom. At the same time ratifications were made of various grants to other nobles, so many in number that they seem to be the division of the hingdom between her favourite Bothwell and the great men who had thus far lent their arms to aid him in his ascent, while, in fact, they watched for the moment when his fall should be precipitate in proportion to the height to which he had risen.

Under the influence of this aspiring statesman the queen was induced to take a step which she had hitherto delayed and evaded, and which was totally inconsistent with her accession to the treaty of Bayonne, made for the express support of the catholic faith. An act of parliament was passed and received the royal assent, confirming and ratifying in the most express terms the protestant doctrines and church government. This important concession, which no representation of the protestants had been able even in the most critical circumstances to

extract from the queen, the influence of her ambitious lover had induced Mary at once to consent to. Bothwell, no doubt, expected that the legal security thus unexpectedly given to the reformed faith would silence the clamours of the churchmen, and give him, as the author of that security so long sought and vainly petitioned for, popularity with their hearers. Having paved the way, as he supposed, for his final advancement being received with general good will, this ambitious man ventured a more direct stride towards accomplishing his object.

For this purpose, immediately after the rising of parliament, Bothwell invited the principal members of that body to an entertainment in a tavern. There he plainly intimated to them his purpose of marrying the queen, and her consent to honour kim with her hand; and proposed to all present to subscribe a bond, which he drew out of his pocket ready drawn up, in which, after Bothwell himself was recognised as totally free of the foul charge of having been accessory to the late king's murder, he, the same Bothwell, was warmly recommended to her majesty as a suitable match, in case she should humble herself so far as to think of sharing her bed with a subject, and the sub-

scribers agreed to advance the said marriage at the risk of life and goods. It is probable that the principal persons present expected these proposals, and were prepared for them. Those of minor importance were compelled to follow their example, since neither the time nor place allowed much exercise of free choice. At a house usually called Ainslie's Supper, from the name of the publican by whom it was held, the bond was subscribed by eight bishops, nine earls, and seven lords: Morton and Maitland of Lethington are among the number. And thus fortified, as he imagined, by so strong a party, Bothwell proceeded to take the last step in his extraordinary advance to greatness.

Assembling about one thousand horse, under pretext of border service, Bothwell at the head of this company lay in wait for the queen as she came from Stirling, at a place called Fountain Bridge, near Edinburgh, and taking her horse by the bridle, appeared to render himself director of her motions and master of her person. His followers spared not to say, that this seeming violence was offered by the queen's own consent, and would be received as good service. The subjects appeared to suppose the same, for, ready upon former occasions to rise to protect their

queen's person when in danger, they beheld her on the present occasion led prisoner through the richest and most populous part of her dominions, while they looked on in silent astonishment. In this manner Bothwell conducted Mary to the castle of Dunbar, unopposed and unpursued, and made it his boast that gainsay who would, and even against her own consent, he would marry the queen.

To add another disgusting feature to this enormous conduct, the reader must be informed that Bothwell was at this very moment the husband of lady Jane Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley, and was pursuer of a process of divorce, on account of consanguinity, before the consistorial. The countess, on her part, with every appearance of connivance and collusion, prosecuted a separate action of divorce, on the score of adultery, against her husband; and sentence of divorce was pronounced in both suits within a few days of each other.

In silence and amazement the nation waited the end of this extraordinary course of events; and if Mary had been in reality a queen subjected by an audacious subject to the utmost limits of personal insult and violence, she was

singularly unhappy in finding none among her subjects who were induced to believe that the compulsion which she seemed to sustain was a restraint imposed on her against her own will. Her friends looked on with deep affliction: those who judged most favourably concluding she was led astray by such passionate dotage as sometimes characterises female affection: while the powerful and numerous party who suspected Mary's morals because they doubted her religion carefully gathered up every levity of which she had been guilty since her return to Scotland, and cited them as instances of depravity, on which they alleged they were warranted, by the queen's present conduct, to put the worst interpretation.

At the end of twelve days Mary was liberated from Dunbar, conveyed to Edinburgh castle, and apparently placed at liberty by the earl of Bothwell; and the first use she made of her freedom was to utter a declaration, that though she had been displeased with the restraint lately put upon her by the earl of Bothwell, yet, considering his former services, and what might be expected from him in future, she was not only disposed freely to forgive him, but also to exalt him to higher honours. And she kept her word:

for after proclamation of bans, and after the earl had ben elevated to the rank of duke of Orkney, she conferred upon him her hand in marriage on the 15th of May, 1567; — a match which might be concluded every way ominous and unfortunate, without having recourse to the popular superstition derived by the Scots from the classic authors who attach bad luck to marriages in the month of May.

The only apology which the defenders of the unfortunate queen have made for this fatal and irretrievable error is, that her reputation having suffered from being for several days in the hands of a man so audacious and uncontrollable as Bothwell, she was placed in a position which rendered her marrying him an act of necessity rather than choice. On the other hand, those who assert the queen's guilt rest upon this unhappy, unseemly, and ill-chosen union, as the most convincing proof of her being privy to the death of her husband, and all the consequences of the murder. *

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* The acute David Hume being told of a new work which appeared, in which the author had made a well-argued defence of queen Mary, «Has he shown,» said the historian,

On the other hand, strong suspicions arose, out of their own conduct on the occasion, that Morton, Lethington, and others of Mary's counsellors, were treacherously and ungratefully concerned in the plot, which was at once to destroy their sovereign's fame and power. When pardoned by the queen for their share in the Rizzio conspiracy, which had been the fruitful parent of so many crimes, several of them had become privy to Bothwell's designs on the queen's hand, and formed a bond to favour his views as well in annulling the marriage with Darnley as in marrying the queen. These objects they had advanced by every argument in their power; and when death was substituted for the original intention of divorce, it does not seem to have alarmed these sturdy associates. They supported the murderer after the fact, and lent him their countenance upon his trial. They subscribed the bond at Ainslie's supper. Not one of them joined in a spirited remonstrance which the gallant Lord Herries offered to the queen against her

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«that the queen did NOT marry Bothwell?» he was answered of course in the negative; «then,» replied Mr. Hume, «in admitting that fact, he resigns the whole question.»

marriage with Bothwell. Not a spear was lifted, not a sword drawn, to rescue Mary from the power of that atrocious ruffian. She was suffered, without either warning or opposition, to unite herself with this worthless man; and it was not until her honour became inseparable from his that the same advisers changed their note, sounded an alarm to the nation, and called on all true subjects to rescue the queen from the control of Bothwell.

We cannot but suspect that these ambitious men, observing how readily the queen had been supported by the nation on former occasions, had determined not to interrupt her infatuated career till she had linked her fate to Bothwell so inseparably, that she must needs share his ruin. Morton was aware that he should, by getting rid of queen Mary, gratify his patroness queen Elizabeth in the most sensible manner, and raise his own party, and eventually perhaps himself, to the prime management of Scottish affairs.

These considerations show why Morton and Lethington did not make the least effort to save the queen by preventing or at least remonstrating against her marriage. In the mean time Bothwell plainly showed both his grasping ambition

and his gross ingratitude to the queen. His behaviour in the palace, where he had so unworthily risen to so high a place, was like that of a debauched soldier unbounded in his dissolute discourse either by topics or terms, and totally neglectful of his duty and respect for the queen. He schemed and plotted to get into his hands the person of the young prince, with a view probably on his life or liberty; and because the queen, amidst the dotage of her passion, opposed him in his purpose, he treated her with such reproachful language that she was heard in the height of her grief and indignation threatening to stab or drown herself.

The earl of Mar, who had lodged the young prince in Edinburgh castle; took care to keep both James's person and that important place out of the hands of Bothwell, though he had been constituted governor. Meantime the public indignation began to show itself more boldly. It was easy to find specious pretexts for raising in arms so warlike a nation as the Scots, — the liberation of the queen from the control of Bothwell, and freeing the young prince from the restraint and danger attending his continuing under the guardianship of his father's murderer, were sufficient cause for calling the people to

arms. Morton and most of the protestant lords soon assembled a force and marched to Edinburgh. Bothwell and the queen were well nigh surprised as they were banquetting at Borthwick castle, in the vicinity of the metropolis, and escaped with difficulty to the strong fortress of Dunbar, where Mary summoned her subjects around her as on former occasions: they came, but it was with a total disinclination to the service.

The confederated lords marched eastward against Dunbar; but the queen, with her usual alacrity, assembled forces equal to theirs in number, and met them on Carberry Hill. When the two armies came in sight of each other, the French ambassador, called Le Croc, endeavoured to mediate betwixt the parties, and succeeded in preventing hostilities. In the conferences which followed, Bothwell made a bravadoing offer to vindicate her innocence by single combat; but chicaned and retracted when several among the confederates offered to accept the challenge. In the mean time the queen's spirits failed her when she beheld the reluctance with which her own troops prepared for the combat, and heard Kirkcaldy of Grainge, on the part of the confederates, profess their willingness to respect and obey

her as their sovereign, providing she would remove Bothwell from her presence and counsels. She dismissed Bothwell accordingly, who retreated to the Orkneys, and driven from thence, committed some outrages on the trade of Denmark. He was finally taken, and immured in the castle of Malmoe, in Norway, where he died, after ten years' confinement.

Meantime the queen, who had surrendered herself upon terms to her insurgent subjects, was far from experiencing the reception of homage and respect on their part which Kirkcaldy had promised. The armed ranks closed around her with menacing gestures and expressions, which even the authority of their leaders could not restrain. When she reached Edinburgh the multitude became still more unruly; and the streets of her capital resounded with abusive exclamations against her. Some, to show their disrespectful feelings, did not hesitate to display before her eyes a banner, on which was represented the murdered Darnley with the person of the young prince kneeling beside it, and praying to heaven for vengeance. While Mary sustained this degrading treatment from the commonalty, the confederated lords formed themselves into a committee of government, and ordered the queen

to be conveyed under strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated on an islet, in the large lake so named, and placed under the custody of sir William Douglas, a kinsman of Morton, lord of the castle, and his wife, the mother of the earl of Murray, who pretended to have been lawfully wedded to James V., though, in fact, only his concubine, and was, therefore, hostile to the descendants of his actual marriage with Mary of Guise. This usage of the queen was contrary to the conditions which the associated lords had granted to her when she surrendered herself to Kirkcaldy of Grainge at Carberry Hill; and that gallant knight upbraided them severely with having broken their word to Mary, and made him the means of deceiving her. But to this they answered that the favourable terms alluded to had been granted to Mary on condition that she would break off all intercourse with Bothwell; notwithstanding which, they affirmed, she had afterwards written to him in affectionate terms, agreeing to adhere to his fortunes, and had thereby forfeited the favourable terms which they had been willing to grant on condition of her positively renouncing him.

This state of things could not long endure. The Hamiltons, and many other nobles of great

power, without challenging the propriety of the proceedings of the insurgents as far as the expulsion of Bothwell was concerned, were of opinion that he being banished from the kingdom, queen Mary should be restored to her sovereign authority. But the lords of the confederation, who had every reason to think that her talents, and the interest which she inspired in her kingdom, might soon enable her, if set at liberty, to revenge herself on those by whom she had been confined, determined that she should be dethroned on account of mal-administration, and compelled to resign her crown to her son, while the government during his minority should be conducted by a regent.

This important office was reserved for James earl of Murray. The reason of our late silence respecting this influential nobleman is his absence from the scene of action. Murray had remained in Scotland until he saw the termination of the conjugal disputes between Darnley and Mary, by the murder of the former. He then asked and obtained license to go to England, and from thence to France, where he remained during the insurrection, of which, however, he received the principal reward, being, as we have said, destined by the confederate lords

to hold the place of supreme governor in the name of the infant prince. He was less objectionable to the queen than any other who could have been proposed, since his absence from the kingdom had separated him from the Carberry lords, at the time when their insurrection was most offensive to the queen. She might also hope something from affection, and much from gratitude for benefits received by her brother.

The earl o Murray, summoned to Scotland to fulfil such high destinies, returned to his native country with all despatch, and took on him, though manifesting a decent reluctance, the office of regent. The queen had expected a good deal from the affection and gratitude of Murray; but at their very first interview he reproved her with so much severity for her errors, that all ties of family affection or friendship between them were broken off for ever. The unfortunate queen had been already compelled, not without circumstances of violence, to subscribe a resignation of her kingdom, and to sign a commission to her brother in the capacity of regent. Murray, by his skill and talent, speedily overturned the plans of the nobles who were favourable to the queen, obtained possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and placed himself as

regent in full execution of the government throughout Scotland. Parliament sanctioned the change of rulers which had taken place, ratified the accession of the infant son, instead of the captive mother, and the authority of Murray as regent in the name of the king.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Mary's escape from Lochleven. — The battle of Langside. — The queen's flight into England. — Mary offers to vindicate herself to Elizabeth. — Advantage taken of that offer. — Commission at York. — Question of supremacy revived and abandoned. — Proposal of a marriage between Mary and the duke of Norfolk. — Sittings of the commission removed to Westminster. — Murray lodges his accusation against Mary. — Elizabeth declines pronouncing a decision, but detains Mary a prisoner. — Question of her guilt and innocence. — Morton's confession. — Proofs by the sonnets and letters. — Deemed inconclusive, and why. — Confession of Paris. — Elizabeth's conduct towards Mary. — A party is formed in Scotland for the queen. — It is joined by Kirkcaldy of Grainge and Lethington. — Murray betrays Norfolk to Elizabeth. — The duke is imprisoned. — Murray assassinated by Bothwellhaugh. — Inroads on the borders.

Fate had reserved to queen Mary an additional chance for repairing her broken fortunes (May 2d,

1568.). In Lochleven castle she was surrounded by those most deeply interested for the earls of Murray and of Morton, and most inclined to support the power to which they had been raised. But there was one person among them who beheld her confinement and her distresses with an eye of compassion. This was a youth named George Douglas, brother of the lord of Lochleven, who, captivated by her beauty, touched by her sorrow, and seduced by her promises, laid a plan for her escape. This was discovered by his brother sir James, who expelled the plotter from the castle.

Undismayed by this miscarriage, George Douglas lingered on the shores of Lochleven, to assist the queen in any subsequent effort. Mary was not long in making such an attempt. She entered a boat disguised in the attire of a laundress, but was discovered, from her repelling the endeavours by the rude boatmen to pull off her veil with arms and hands far too white to belong to one of her assumed character.

Again the queen was replaced in her island prison, but about the same time a second ally in the garrison was won over to assist her escape. This was a lad of seventeen or eighteen,

called William Douglas, otherwise the Little Douglas, a relative, probably, of the lord of Lochleven.

This *little* Douglas, so named from his tender years or low stature, gave her his assistance to escape by night from the castle and island in which she was immured. He stole the keys for this purpose, set the royal prisoner at liberty in the middle of the night: to prevent pursuit, locked the iron gates of the town upon its inmates, and flung the keys into the lake as he rowed her to land. George Douglas, already mentioned, lord Seton, and a party of the Hamiltons, received the queen on the shores of the lake, and conveyed her in triumph to Hamilton, where her friends hastened to assemble an army, and form an association for her defence. The engagement was subscribed by nine earls, as many lords, and a great many persons of consequence.

Placing the queen in the centre of their numerous battalions, they moved from Hamilton towards Dunbarton. It was their intention to deposit the person of the sovereign in that impregnable castle, and then to seek out the regent, and give him battle. But his rapid movements

anticipated their more tardy measures. Murray was at this time lying at Glasgow; and at the head of an army inferior in numbers marched to intercept the progress of the enemy towards the north. The vanguard of each army hastened forward, contending which should obtain possession of the village of Langside. They met with equal courage, and encountered with levelled lances, striving, like contending bulls, which should bear the other down. The spears of the front ranks were so fastened into each other's armour, that the staves crossed like a sort of grating, on which lay daggers, pistols, and other weapons used as missiles, which the contending parties had thrown at each other. While they were thus locked together, Morton led a detachment against the flank of the Hamiltons, and decided the day. Mary's army was broken and routed. The queen herself fled sixty miles without drawing bridle, when she arrived at Dundrennan abbey, in Galloway.

Here, against the opinion of her wisest counsellors, Mary exercised her last act of free agency, by determining on the perilous step of taking refuge in England, the realm of Elizabeth, her sister and her foe.

That remarkable princess was not a woman to be deterred by scruples respecting public faith or private honour, from benefiting by the advantages which occasion had thus thrown into her lap. Mary was received by the English officers on the borders with the greatest appearance of respect; nor was Elizabeth sparing of kind expressions of comfort and friendship towards her ill-fated sister.

But when the unfortunate queen of Scotland pressed for an interview with Elizabeth, she was informed that an objection to this arose from the accusations which some of her subjects had preferred against her. Mary naturally and eagerly offered to justify herself against such charges, whatever was their character; meaning no more than to offer such explanations to the queen of England as friend gives to friend, in justifying herself from any sinister report, but certainly not intending to constitute Elizabeth her judge, or to descend from her state, and reply before the queen of England to the accusations of her subjects at the bar of her equal. Elizabeth, however, had obtained an advantage which she determined to keep; and by means of this she had an apology, such as it was, for assuming, in her own person, the power of

deciding upon Mary's guilt or innocence. The point of justice was, indeed, untenable; for the queen of England, on all occasions of rebellion against her neighbour queen Mary, had received the fugitive insurgents into her kingdom, supplied their wants, and lent them countenance and succour, declining either to deliver them up, or enter into cognisance of their offences. Whereas, when the queen of Scotland was compelled to take refuge in her kind sister's kingdom, the worst construction was put upon the cause of her retreat, and Elizabeth, the loving ally, instantly assumed the character of the strict and awful judge.

By command of Elizabeth a commission was appointed to sit at York, having the duke of Norfolk at its head, designed to enquire into the guilt or innocence of queen Mary. Before this board, composed of English commissioners, appeared the regent, with Morton, Lindsay, the bishop of Orkney, and above all, with secretary Maitland, the Machiavel of Scotland. The bishop of Ross; lord Herries, lord Boyd, and others, the most distinguished of Mary's friends, attended on her behalf.

The first demand of Norfolk was, that the regent Murray should do homage to the queen

of England, as queen paramount of Scotland, seeing he had come voluntarily to plead as a suitor before Elizabeth's commissioners. This acknowledgment of the right of supremacy, resisted in so many centuries of bloody war, would have simplified the task of affording a foundation for Elizabeth's jurisdiction, since, if it had been admitted, she might have taken up the settlement of the disputes between the queen and subjects of Scotland, in the legitimate exercise of her power, as paramount superior, in which capacity Edward I. had decided the controversy between Bruce and Baliol. At the unexpected demand of homage, the blood rushed to regent Murray's countenance, and he remained uncertain what to answer; but the ready wit of Lethington took up the debate. «Let England," he said, «restore to Scotland Cumberland, Northumberland, and the town of Berwick, and homage shall be done for these possessions as of old; but for the kingdom and crown of Scotland," he continued, «it is more free of dependance than England herself has been of late, while she paid Saint Peter's pence to Rome."

The sittings of the commissioners were resumed without more debate on the subject of supremacy, which the English tacitly abandoned. It

might be observed, however, that there was a reluctance on the part ef the regent and his associates to bring forward their defence to the accusation of rebellion against Mary, by retorting upon her the alleged offences of incontinence, and accession to the assassination of Henry Darnley. The fact was, tbat the fertile brain of Lethington had already devised a scheme by which the proceedings on both sides were to be guided, and which he proposed should put an end to the commission, in a manner which Elizabeth, under whose warrant it held its sittings, very little dreamed of. This project was to effect a match between Mary, her divorce from Bothwell being effected, and the duke of Norfolk, wealthy, brave, accomplished, and at the head of a strong party amongst the English nobility, composed partly of catholics and partly of protestants, who were, for various reasons, hostile to the government and schemes of Cecil. Of this number the two great northern earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland were particularly formidable.

The regent Murray having in his eye the prospect of such an union must naturally have reflected that Mary, restored to her crown with increased security and strength, would be utterly

implacable towards him, if he should render himself guilty in her eyes of having been her accuser before Elizabeth's commission at this peculiar crisis of her fate. He therefore temporised; and instead of pressing his charges against Mary, capitulated with queen Elizabeth about the terms on which the accusation was to be brought forward; and that queen had the mortification to perceive that the regent, instead of persisting in the charge, showed some inclination to make peace with his sister, whom he had lately accused of such enormities.

Embarrassed at perceiving that Murray hesitated, Elizabeth resolved to change the scene of action, and appointed the conference of the commissioners to be removed to Westminster, that the business might be carried on under her own eye and that of Cecil. For the same purpose, without regard to Mary's requests or entreaties, she removed her from Bolton to Tutbury, that she might be more remote from her own dominions and the frontiers of England, in which districts she had many friends. She was hitherto treated honourably, but with the most secure attention to her safety.

The wily Cecil was not long in obtaining a perfect acquaintance with the negotiation be-

tween Norfolk and the regent; and he gave Murray to understand, that should he continue to shrink from the task of accusation, or pursue further a line of hopeless hesitation, he would totally alienate his protectress Elizabeth, without having the effect of conciliating Mary, whom he had offended beyond reach of pardon. Intimidated by his threats, the regent at length preferred his charge against the queen, in the broadest terms. He accused Mary as an accessory to the murder of her husband, and as plotting the destruction of the young prince, her own son. The queen's commissioners expressed the utmost surprise and resentment at these unqualified charges. They demanded an interview of Elizabeth, and they protested against all further proceedings of the conference. The regent, in reply, was called upon to produce his proofs. This brought forward an incident famous in the controversy. In corroboration of his accusation, the earl of Murray produced and deposited a silver box, or casket, full of love-letters, sonnets, and contracts, alleged to have passed between Mary and Bothwell during the life of her murdered husband Henry Darnley, and contended that, with the decree of the Scottish parliament, these documents were sufficient to establish queen Mary's guilt, and to

vindicate the conduct of those who, having risen in arms against her government, now opposed her restoration.

By forcing Murray to these decisive steps, Elizabeth attained the principal object of her wishes She had, as far as a foul charge could have such an effect, destroyed the good fame of queen Mary, and obtained the privilege of dealing with her as one lying under the most odious suspicions, and unworthy the protection of the law of nations. This point gained, she resolved to avoid taking on herself the delicate task of declaring Mary guilty or innocent. She informed Murray, therefore, that on the one hand she acquitted him of all charges against his loyalty and honour; and that on the other she could not bring herself to be of opinion that he had produced any proofs of the charge against Mary sufficiently decisive to prejudice her sister in her good opinion; on which account she had determined to leave the affairs of Scotland as she had found them. It will be observed that this decision, while in words it placed neither party in the wrong, gave Mary the same disadvantages which would have followed from an express condemnation of the queen. She remained a prisoner, although found guilty of no

crime; and Murray, the accuser, though unacquitted of the charge of rebellion and calumnious slander against his sovereign, left England, after having received a considerable sum of money, with an assurance that his party in Scotland should have the support of the English government.

But it may be asked what conclusion are readers of the present day to draw from these proceedings? and are we, with one class of writers, to conceive queen Mary an injured saint, or with another the most profligate of women? We confess that, without more light than we at present possess, or ever hope to see thrown on a subject of so mysterious a character, we incline to think that on both sides this memorable case has been pleaded to extremity.

The beauty, the wit, and, in general, the amiable character of Mary, has raised up for her memory defenders of equal talents and zeal. But if we review the queen's conduct from the debate at Craigmillar, concerning the proposed divorce betwixt her and Darnley, it is difficult to believe that she must not have entertained suspicions, that many persons of an unscrupulous character were not indisposed, when that me-

asure was rejected, to remove the unfortunate prince from his share of the throne by the readiest and most violent means, if legal and justifiable expedients would not serve the turn. The reconciliation between the husband and wife, after their long estrangement, which was patched up so suddenly and immediately before the murder, the violence offered to the queen's person by Bothwell, and so tamely acquiesced in by a female of such high rank and energetic character, are to us irresistible evidence that Mary, deeply injured by her ungrateful husband, and engaged by an unhappy attachment to one of the most wicked of men, suffered Darnley, without warning or succour, to fall into the conspirators' snares, if, indeed, she did not herself entice him into the toils. Revenge and love are great casuists; and supposing Mary so far concerned in Darnley's death as to foresee its approach without endeavouring to prevent it, she might endeavour to justify her conduct to herself, by considering that by his accession to the murder of her servant in her own presence her ungrateful husband deserved death, and that she at least was not obliged to give the alarm when a deserved punishment seemed about to overwhelm him. The evident favour shown to Bothwell on his sham trial, the too obvious farce

of the seizure of the queen at Fountain Bridge, and her subsequent marriage with Bothwell, all lead to the same melancholy conclusion. And when we recollect that Mary had been educated in the profligate court of Catherine of Medicis, and was surrounded in her own by some of the worst and most wicked men who ever lived, he who can suppose that, tempted by love and revenge, she walked through the maze of iniquity occurring betwixt Rizzio's death and her marriage with Bothwell without soiling the purity of her mind with the guilt which was so thick around her path, must have unusual confidence in human nature.

But though we are compelled to admit that a long train of coherent circumstances seems to evince that Mary was at least by tacit acquiescence an accomplice in Darnley's fate, we are not much moved by what has been termed the actual proof of her guilt and which was produced as such before the commission.

The documents contained in the silver box are the only direct testimony tending to involve Mary in Darnley's murder; and setting these aside for the present, there remains little which can directly implicate the queen.

At a later period, indeed, Morton an unprincipled and fierce man, who, according to his own account on the scaffold, was privy to the whole bloody scene, says, that being invited to join Bothwell and Lethington in a scheme against Darnley's life, he refused to engage in the plot unless Bothwell would obtain an injunction upon him to that effect from the queen herself. But he proceeds to declare, that Bothwell never was able to produce such a warrant. Here, therefore, the chain of direct evidence is broken, and the positive proof of Mary's guilt is not to be found. Laying Morton's direct oral testimony aside as being inconclusive, we come next to the celebrated casket and papers.

These letters and writings produced would indeed prove a great deal more than enough for conviction if they stood unimpeached as authentic documents. But great and serious suspicions attach to their authenticity. The internal evidence is unfavourable, according to our ideas, of the style of a sovereign expressing her attachment. They are described with suspicious variations, sometimes as being written by the queen's own hand, sometimes as being only subscribed by her. Above all, though their authenticity was challenged, and though the regent and his

associates had in their power the persons through whose hands they were said to have passed, yet no care whatever was taken, by examination of any of these persons, to ascertain or corroborate the faith of documents so important to the cause of the accusers. The obvious and legal inference is, that where that is not proved which ought to have been verified, it must have been for want of the means of probation. It is notorious that the letters and papers had been long enough in the hands of the queen's enemies to have been tampered with to any extent; and the productions of copies and translations, instead of originals, is totally foreign to our ideas of judicial proceedings. Nay, there was so little attention to authenticate the casket or the documents contained, that although Dalgleish, the messenger from whose person they weee alleged to be taken, was tried and executed for accession to Darnley's murder, not a single question was put to him either at his trial, or at his death, which could tend to prove he had ever seen them. His confession, also, which candidly admits his share in Darnley's murder, contains not a word respecting these papers. The only evidence of their having been taken on the person of this man was the declaration of Morton, who, if they were

forged, was undoubtedly a person most deeply interested in the fabrication.

The queen, also, when she alleged that these manuscripts were forgeries, observed, that there were many in her kingdom who could imitate her hand-writing; and it was believed that Maitland possessed that accomplishment in a supreme degree.

Another document of direct evidence preferred against the queen was the confession of Paris, a Frenchman, and a servant of her household, who is represented as having given testimony respecting the circumstances of a conference with Bothwell, which, compared with the subsequent directions received by Paris from Mary regarding the delivery of the keys of the king's lodgings at the Kirk of Field, seems distinctly probative of the queen's knowledge of the murder before the fact. But to this also lies the same objection of a strong suspicion of forgery; and there arises the greater doubt on the subject, that certainly if Paris had been actually disposed to make such an important confession, his life ought to have been preserved, that he might deliver his evidence before parliament or in an unprejudiced court, allowing every chance to

the royal person accused of so hideous a crime of disproving it by cross-examination or otherwise. The death of a miserable domestic, whose life was at all times in their hands, ought to have been deferred until his testimony had been publicly given, carefully investigated, and formally recorded. The fact of having put Paris instantly to death, with every other person connected with the murder, resembles the art of the usurper in the play who stabs the warders of Duncan lest a public examination should produce other sentiments in the minds of the judges than those which he who really committed the crime desired should be inferred.

On the whole, the direct evidence produced in support of Mary's alleged guilt was liable to such important objections, that it could not now be admitted to convict a felon for the most petty crime; and there is surely no equity in receiving it as absolutely conclusive against a queen. We have already stated our opinion of the moral proof of deep delusion, or perhaps actual guilt arising from Mary's own conduct; but we own that our strong suspicions, arising from her favour to Bothwell, her union with that profligate man, and the time and circumstances of the marriage, are rather weakened than confirmed

by the attempts to corroborate it by positive evidence of so very suspicious a description. When original documents are suppressed, and alleged copies only produced, when minutes of confessions privately obtained under threats of torture are urged as proofs, and the witnesses themselves, who might have given open testimony, removed by precipitate execution, the loose and improbable character of the evidence throws a suspicion over the whole proceeding, which goes far to neutralise the presumption of guilt arising out of the circumstances; and as it evinces foul practices used in order to convict the queen, it must necessarily induce us to lean to the side of acquittal. Queen Elizabeth was probably sensible of this when, by the result of the investigation, she saw herself obliged to acknowledge that the Scottish queen had come off guiltless from the charge brought by Murray and her rebel subjects; and the number and character of those who asserted Mary's cause in Scotland plainly intimates that a great part of her subjects were in no respect disposed to be considered as having faith in the evidence which later historians have received as conclusive against her.

The enquiry had terminated favourably for Mary, in so far that Elizabeth confessed by her

own answer to both parties that she saw no grounds for the charges with which the Scottish queen had been loaded. It seemed to follow, that a queen now pronounced to be guiltless, who had taken refuge in the dominions of a sister and ally in a moment of extreme necessity, should have been either received with honour or dismissed with safety. But, contrary to the laws of hospitality observed in the most barbarous nations, contrary to the tenour of a thousand declarations of friendship and even sisterly fondness, the queen of England determined not to enfranchise her prisoner, though she had dismissed the accusation under pretext of which she had at first refused to admit her to her presence. She was indeed so bold in availing herself of the advantage she had gained as to seem little anxious to justify the right to detain her captive, being fully possessed of the power.

Mary, therefore, was sent from Bolton castle to Tutoury; and that no circumstance of meanness might be omitted, the royal captive had reason to complain even of the niggard temper of Elizabeth, which hardly allowed her prisoner fitting means of transport or adequate support, while she dragged her from one prison to another

in inclement weather, and through the most rugged roads.

Leaving Mary to her melancholy fate, our narrative must follow Murray to Scotland. His presence there had become needful to the support of his own party; for the lords who were attached to queen Mary having recovered from the terrors inspired by the battle of Langside were threatening again to take up arms. Murray averted the immediate danger by seizing on the duke of Chatelherault and lord Herries, and sending them prisoners to Edinburgh castle. But the queen's party continued to assume a menacing appearance. Their leaders were much encouraged by the intrigues carried on by the duke of Norfolk for the purpose of obtaining Mary's hand. Two men of eminence, who had been Murray's especial friends were deeply engaged in this plot. The first was Maitland of Lethington, who was the original inventor of the scheme, the other, sir William Kirkcaldy of Grainge, famed for his military talent, and not less so for a generosity of disposition which was by no means a characteristic of the period. He had been displeased at the severe conduct of the lords towards the queen, after she surrendered to him at Carberry Hill, and dis-

missed her army upon his warrant of respectful treatment and good usage. And although he afterwards fought against her at the battle of Langside, yet, unconvinced of Mary's guilt, or supposing that it had been expiated by her sufferings, or yielding, perhaps, to the wonderful influence which the ingenuity of Lethington possessed over the minds of all to whom he found access, he was now disposed to join in any honourable expedient which might obtain Mary's liberty and forward her restoration. Grainge, being governor of Edinburgh castle, wherein were detained the noblemen whom Murray had lately made prisoners of state, his friendship was, at such a crisis, of the last consequence to the party to which he h ould finally attach himself. He declared himself the protector of these captives as well as of Maitland of Lethington, whom he received into the castle, and who became, as usual, the soul of all the intrigues which were carried on between the parties.

The arrival of the regent in Scotland disconcerted these counsels. Murray had been made privy to the proposed marriage between Norfolk and Mary, and had given his assent to it while at York. But since that period he had openly

stood forward as the accuser of his sister, and could no longer hope either safety for the future or indemnity for the past should she ever again ascend the throne. He therefore dishonourably betrayed to Elizabeth the whole treaty as it had been communicated to him by Norfolk, and thus furnished the English queen with proofs on which the duke was arrested and detained a prisoner. Immediately upon this arrest, which was regarded as inferring Elizabeth's perfect knowledge of the various plans which had been agitated among the malecontent lords, the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, catholics, and friends, of course, to the Scottish queen, arose in open rebellion, with the avowed purpose of liberating Mary and restoring the popish religion. But this insurrection, though in the outset extremely formidable, sunk and died away like a fire of straw before the active and vigorous measures of queen Elizabeth. The two leaders fled to Scotland, where Northumberland fell into the power of the regent, by whom he was imprisoned in Lochleven castle. The earl of Westmoreland escaped abroad, and died beyond seas. This unsuccessful attempt at rebellion greatly broke the power of the catholics in England, and confirmed the sway of Eliza-

beth, as the bursting of an imposthume often restores the vigour of the human constitution.

Murray, strengthened by Elizabeth's arms, and bold in her protection, was taking measures to complete the subjugation of the queen's party, and negotiating to have Mary's own person delivered into his hands by the queen of England, when he lost his life by the vengeance of an individual. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a man distinguished for a vindictive disposition in an age when revenge was accounted a virtue and a duty, had with many of that name been made prisoner at the battle of Langside. With the other captives he had been doomed to death after the battle, and like others he had received pardon from the regent. But though Bothwellhaugh had been thus far favourably treated, a separate property belonging to him had been declared forfeited, and was conferred by Murray upon one of his favourites, who, brutally eager to obtain possession, drove the wife of Bothwellhaugh, then recently delivered of a child, half naked into the fields, where she became ere morning furiously mad. Her husband vowed vengeance on the regent as the original author of the injury; and the Hamiltons, his kinsmen, who had so much reason to hate and fear the

present ruler of Scotland, encouraged him, by applauding and abetting his design. Having taken singularly accurate measures for effecting his purpose and his escape, he lurked in an empty lodging in the street of Linlithgow, mortally wounded the earl of Murray by a shot from a carabine as he rode through the town, and though closely pursued got in safety to France.

There is every reason to suppose that the crime of an individual had been countenanced and prompted by the spirit of a faction as well as of a powerful family. On the very night when the murder was committed, Buccleuch and Farniherst, chiefs of the names of Scott and Kerr, borderers, of the queen's party, invaded England with unusual fury, with the purpose, doubtless, of producing a breach betwixt the two nations. One of the depredators showed that the party were conscious of the act which had taken place; for being asked by an Englishman how he would answer that night's work to the regent, who was wont to be a terror to the border plunderers, he replied, «Tush, man! your regent is cold as the iron bit in my horse's mouth.»

Thus died the earl of Murray, still remembered by the commons of Scotland as the good

regent, and not undeserving of the epithet; for making allowance for the stormy times in which he lived, his general character will bear comparison with most statesmen of the period. He was wise, brave, and successful in his enterprises: but his uncertain and insecure state led him into intrigues, from which he could not honourably extricate himself; and Elizabeth did not hesitate, both in the affair of the Roundabout Raid and in extorting a confession of his intrigues with Norfolk, to subject him to a just charge of meanness and treachery. Sir James Melville blames rather the avarice of Morton and others than that of the regent himself for the acts of severity and rapacity which hastened his death; and although it was he who chiefly profited by the murder of Darnley and the ill concocted intrigues of Bothwell, there is no proof that he was conscious of or accessory to those dark and treacherous transactions, further than the suspicion which must attach to a man of his consequence, who could scarcely be ignorant of important events when they were passing around him. There is something like coldness and ingratitude in his harsh conduct to a sister who had favoured and promoted him, and who is said to have shed tears over his death. But the steadiness with which he

prosecuted and established the work of the' reformation seems to have arisen from sincere conviction, and constitutes regent Murray's best title to a place among the benefactors of his country.

CHAPTER XXX.

Commencement of the civil war. — English invasion. — The borderers chastised. — The house of Hamilton almost ruined. — Dunbarton castle taken. — Scotland divided betwixt king's men and queen's men. — Cruel character of the war. — State of parties. — Raid of Stirling. — Death of the regent Lennox. — Mar succeeds, and labours for peace, but shortly after dies. — Morton chosen regent. — His character. — Mary corresponds with Spain. — Duke of Norfolk beheaded. — Queen Elizabeth publicly owns the right of James. — The civil wars still rage; but the party of the queen declines every where save in the north, where it is supported by the Gordons. — The queen's adherents capitulate excepting Grainge, who holds out Edinburgh castle. — He is besieged by an English force, and compelled to surrender. — He is executed. — Death of Maitland of Lethington.

On the death of the earl of Murray, both parties in Scotland prepared for war. The faction

adhering to the infant monarch chose for regent instead of Murray the earl of Lennox, father of the murdered Darnley, and grandfather of James himself. His authority was strongly supported by Elizabeth, who despatched two flying armies into Scotland to avenge the mischief done upon the frontiers, and to co-operate with the forces of the regent. One of these, under the earl of Sussex, severely chastised the border clans of Scott and Kerr by ravaging their lands and burning their houses. The other army was commanded by lord Scroope of Bolton. A third body of English, led by sir William Drury, assisted Lennox in laying waste the vale of Clyde, and desolating the mansions of Hamilton, rendered obnoxious to the king's party by the murder of the late regent, and to Lennox himself, whose father had been slain by one of that clan, by the bitterness of feudal hatred. Their vengeance was urged with such unrelenting fury, that the great family, whom it affected, was in all its branches brought to the verge of ruin.

Another advantage was obtained by the king's party, by an extraordinary feat of courage and dexterity (A. D. 1571.). Crawford of Jordanhall, an enterprising officer, undertook the venturous exploit of storming the almost impregnable castle

of Dunbarton, which had hitherto, during the variation of the civil war, remained in possession of the queen's partisan the lord Fleming. A handful of soldiers advanced to the foot of the rock on a misty evening. By means of ladders they ascended to a ledge of rock where they were able to keep their footing till they could draw up and replace the ladders so as to attain the bottom of the wall. In the second ascent, a soldier, when half way up the ladder, was seized with a fit of epilepsy. Crawford caused the man to be bound to the steps; then commanding the ladder to be turned, they mounted over the indisposed person's belly. Surmounting the wall, the assailants surprised the ill-watched garrison, who were too confident in the strength of the castle to keep a due guard, and carried the place by an attempt, the boldness of which was unequalled by the siege of the Numidian fortress mentioned by Sallust, or the more modern surprise of Fecamp, on the coast of Normandy, by Bois-Rosé during the wars of the League.

The archbishop of St. Andrew's, natural brother of the duke of Chatelherault, was taken in the castle of Dunbarton, to which he had retreated for safety, as to an impregnable place of

refuge. This prelate was highly obnoxious to the king's party from his profession, his talents, and his family; and being already attainted by parliament, lay open to their severity, which was carried to the uttermost. They conveyed the archbishop to Stirling, where he was publicly hanged without trial or ceremony. That he deserved this fate is highly probable. He was proprietor of the fatal mansion called the Kirk of Field, in which Darnley was blown up, and of the no less fatal lodging at Linlithgow, from which the regent Murray received his death-wound; and there was little doubt of his being on both occasions aware of the purpose which the lodgings were to be put to. But his execution, without even a semblance of trial, in the heat of a civil war, was calculated to add fuel to its fury, and became the example and justification of numerous atrocities practised by way of retaliation.

The civil war was now widely kindled, and raged in every province; and the fatal distinction into king's men and queen's men divided even private families. The king's adherents held a parliament at Stirling. The queen's lords assumed the same title at Edinburgh; and these assemblies fulminated decrees of forfeiture against

each other. Skirmishes were fought in every part of the kingdom; and as the parties threw on each other the imputation of rebellion, those taken in battle were only spared by the sword to perish by the gibbet; for each party in these desolating hostilities relentlessly executed their captives as traitors.

The historian, Hume of Godscroft, has left us a species of parallel, showing how the great peers and families in the different parts of Scotland were divided between the two factions. By this it appears that the preponderance of the feudal nobility was on the side of queen Mary, though the strength which the king's men obtained from the support of the reformed party decided the civil war in favour of her son. First, there were of the queen's side the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle, Athole, Huntley, almost all petty princes in their several countries and shires; also the earls of Crawford, Rothes, Eglinton, Cassilis, the lord Herries, with all the Maxwells, Lochinvar, Johnstone, the lords Seton, Boyd, Gray, Ogilvy, Livingston, Fleming, Oliphant, the sheriff of Ayr and Liulithgow, Buccleuch, Farniherst, and Tullibardine. "The lord Hume did also countenance them, though few of his friends or

name were with him, save one mean man, Ferdinando of Broomhouse; Maitland the secretary, a great politician, and Grainge, an approved soldier, who was captain of the castle, and provost of the town of Edinburgh, embraced Mary's party. They had the chief castles and places of strength in their hands,— Edinburgh, Dunbarton, and Lochmaben. France did assist them; Spain did favour them, and so did the pope, together with all the Roman catholics every where. The same faction in England was great: all the duke of Norfolk's party, papists and malecontents, had their eye upon queen Mary. Neither was she, though in prison, altogether unuseful to her side; for besides her countenance, and colour of her authority, which prevailed with some, she had her rents in France, and her jewels, wherewith she both supported the common cause and rewarded her private servants and followers. Especially these resources served her to furnish agents and ambassadors to plead her cause, and importune her friends at the court of France and England, who were helped by the banished lords, Dacre and Westmoreland, to stir up foreign princes all they could. Thus was that party now grown great, so that it might seem both safe and most advantageous to follow it. The other was almost

abandoned. There were but three earls that took part with Morton at first, — Lennox, Mar, and Glencairn; neither were these comparable to any of the foremost four. In Fife there was the lord Lindsay, and Glammis in Angus, — no very powerful men, and no ways equal to Crawford and Rothes. The lord Semple was but a simple one in respect of Cassilis, Maxwell, Lochinvar, and others; Methven in Strathern, a very mean lord; Ochiltree amongst the meanest that bare the title of a lord; and yet Cathcart was meaner than he, both in men and means. Neither was Ruthven so great but that Tullibardine and Oliphant were able to overmatch him. They had no castles but Stirling and Tantallon, which belonged to Morton. The commons, indeed, were very forwardly set that way; but how uncertain and unsure a prop is the vulgar? England did befriend them sometimes, but not so fully as they needed, and even so far as did concern their own safety.* *

In this view of parties, the historian, desirous to rate the strength of the king's faction as low

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* Hume of Godscroft's History of Douglas. Edinburgh, 1743. vol. ii. p. 199.

as possible, in order the more to exalt the talents and worth of those who gained the superiority against such odds, considerably undervalues the assistance afforded to the king's lords by the burghs and commons. Nor does he give due weight to the countenance of England, which ministered to the assistance of the regent by effectual supplies of troops and money; whereas the courts of France and Spain and other catholic powers supported queen Mary by little more than splendid promises. Nevertheless, Godscroft justly says, that the factions were so balanced as to make success dubious, and the bloodshed and strife great and universal. The whole inland country was agitated through every province by the contests of king's men and queen's men; and to use an expression of the period, in the wild borders and savage highlands, the clan Gregor and the clan Chattan in the north, Buccleuch and Fairniherst in the south, were bounded out to ravage the neighbouring country with the full fury of predatory war.

Amid this scene of slaughter and confusion, a military movement, contrived by the talent of Grainge, had nearly brought the war to an unexpected termination. A body of five hundred men were privately assembled at Edinburgh,

under the command of the earl of Huntley, lord Claud Hamilton, younger son of the duke of Chatelherault, and Scott of Buccleuch. They made a night march to Stirling, occupied the town without opposition, and breaking into the lodgings of the principal lords of the king's faction, as well as the regent himself, made them prisoners, and were about to conduct them to Edinburgh. The obstinacy of Morton, who defended his house till it was set on fire, and the rapacity and want of discipline of the soldiers, who broke their ranks for the purpose of plunder, gave the king's party an opportunity of rallying. The garrison marched out of the castle, and fired upon the invaders from some half-built houses which still stand in the same unfinished state across the top of the main street: the inhabitants of Stirling immediately joined in the attack, and the assailants, taken by surprise in their turn, began to fly. In the scuffle, a man, by command it is said of lord Claud Hamilton, shot the regent Lennox with a carabine, in revenge of the death of the archbishop of St. Andrew's. The queen's party fled, nor could the others pursue them, the horder-men, followers of Buccleuch, having carried off all the horses they could find in Stirling. Morton, who had previously surrendered to Buc-

cleuch, now took his captor, who was related to him, under his protection as his prisoner, and dismissed him uninjured. If Grainge himself had led the assailants on this occasion, the enterprise, so successful in the commencement, might probably have terminated in the entire ruin of the king's party.

As it was, the loss of the regent Lennox was a disadvantage which the king's nobles hastened to repair, by placing in the vacant situation John earl of Mar. Just, moderate, and patriotic, this estimable nobleman endeavoured to establish peace betwixt the contending parties in the state; and it is said the deep regret which he felt at being impeded by Morton, and others of his own party, in the work of reconciliation, brought on the disease of which he died, 29th October, 1572.

The earl of Mar's successor in the regency was the old friend of the regent Murray, James earl of Morton; and no election could have been made more dangerous to those who followed the cause of Mary. Morton possessed all Murray's faults in an exaggerated degree, many of his talents, but few or none of his virtues. He was ambitious, but his ambition was of that sordid

kind that is sullied by avarice;" and he was willing to stoop yet lower to win the favour of Elizabeth than Murray himself would have bowed. As a judge, he was accessible to bribery; as a soldier, he was a stranger to mercy; and it was from his name that those skirmishes, in which prisoners were regularly executed on both sides, were called the Douglas wars. If we compare the two regents in other respects, the religion of Murray seems to have been sincere, while Morton's pretension to it was that of a hypocritical profligate. As a partisan, Morton was so deeply implicated in the dark secrets of queen Mary's reign, that he must have regarded her return to the throne as an era to be followed by his own total ruin. It was his interest to prevent this, by a complete and abject dependance on queen Elizabeth. In his personal deportment he displayed many of the qualities of the great house of Douglas, from which he was descended, being brave, proud, politic, and haughty; generally feared, and little loved, through a long and despotic administration.

While Morton held the ostensible government of Scotland, he steered his course almost entirely by the suggestions of the queen of England; and that princess was now more than ever desirous

that the affairs of Scotland should either continue in an embroiled state, or remain under the management of a statesman who was sure to govern them in all respects according to her interests, and diametrically opposite to those of queen Mary, to whom she was more hostile than ever.

The causes for Elizabeth's additional resentment against her unfortunate prisoner arose out of circumstances which were the natural consequences of the injustice which had made her captive. Anxious to obtain the liberty of which she was unjustly deprived, Mary naturally turned her eyes to the princes of her own faith for support. France, divided by civil and religious quarrels, no longer listened to her complaints with interest; but Philip the Second of Spain willingly agreed to send troops and money to invade England, assist the distressed English catholics, and avow the quarrel of queen Mary. His agent Ridolphi found a vigorous second in the bishop of Ross, the able defender of queen Mary, and was listened to, at least, by the duke of Norfolk.

This last nobleman had been just released from prison, upon pledging his solemn word never to

renew his project of marriage with queen Mary. But on obtaining his freedom he immediately resumed the perilous intrigues which his imprisonment had interrupted. Letters and love tokens passed between him and the captive queen of Scotland. The intercourse between Norfolk and Mary, thus renewed on the duke's part, seems fatal to an argument in proof of queen Mary's guilt, much relied upon by Dr. Robertson and others. The letters and proofs produced before the commission must, they said, have been genuine, since Norfolk expressed his belief in them. That he expressed something approaching to such an opinion is unquestionable. But, first, he had an obvious motive for deceiving queen Elizabeth on the nature of his sentiments towards Mary; secondly, if we are to decide any thing on Norfolk's opinion, it must be upon that opinion which he finally entertained at the period when he sought her hand; an overture which he would hardly have resumed, if he had credited or continued to believe in the authenticity of documents which accused her of adultery and murder.* This intercourse

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* After all, the question is less whether the commissioners of Queen Elizabeth believed,

did not long escape the eager eyes of Elizabeth and Cecil. Norfolk was again arrested, tried, condemned, and executed for high treason. That Mary was the motive and mainspring of this conspiracy was undeniable; and Elizabeth was not generous enough to see that it resulted entirely from her own conduct, and the situation to which she had reduced her kinswoman. The queen of England now threw off all mask and disguise; and announcing to the world that Mary had held criminal correspondence with her subjects, she declared she would never consent to her release, and that she would lend avowed and direct aid to maintain king James on the throne.

Possessing the regency of Scotland, Morton speedily showed how much he was the devoted servant of England, by delivering up to Elizabeth the banished earl of Northumberland, a

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or pretended to believe, the authenticity of these documents, as whether the documents were themselves worthy of belief, — a question which the present age is more competent to decide than one in which the law of evidence was so ill understood.

nobleman to whom he had been personally obliged during his residence in England, and who was beheaded at York, in 1572, for his rebellion in 1569. What rendered the regent's treachery more infamous was his acceptance of a reward in money for this service, which was shared betwixt him and his cousin the laird of Lochleven, in whose island fortress Northumberland had been imprisoned. The regent's base compliance in this respect was humiliating, as compared with his predecessor Murray, who, although he consented to detain Northumberland a captive, had resisted all queen Elizabeth's requests for having him delivered up to her revenge.

In the mean time Scotland bled at every vein. In the west, lord Claud Hamilton with infinite courage and zeal continued to uphold the sinking cause of queen Mary. In the south, Buccleuch and Fairniherst maintained the same side. In the north, sir Adam Gordon, a son of that earl of Huntley who was killed in the battle of Corrichie, made war in the queen's behalf with distinguished success. Grainge defended the castle of Edinburgh with his characteristic intrepidity. But notwithstanding the efforts of her adherents, the queen's cause declined in Scotland in every quarter, save Aberdeenshire. At length Huntley

and the duke of Chatelherault consented to a treaty of peace, concluded at Perth the 23d of February, 1573. By this treaty they agreed to acknowledge the authority of the king and the regent, and confessed the illegal character of all that they had done in the name of the queen. On the other hand, they and their followers were promised indemnity and remission of such doom of forfeiture as had been launched against them. The adherents of the queen in other parts of Scotland acceded to this capitulation; and thus the banner of Mary sunk on all sides, save where it continued to float over Edinburgh castle.

The dauntless intrepidity of Kirkcaldy of Grainge might have held out that strong fortress against all the force which the regent could muster within Scotland, ill supplied as it was with the means and skill necessary to carry on sieges. But, in conformity with her proclamation, Elizabeth sent sir William Drury with a formidable train of artillery to assist in reducing the castle. Kirkcaldy held out with firmness worthy of his high military reputation, till his walls were breached and shattered, his provisions expended, the well choked with ruins and inaccessible, and the artillery silenced. At the

last extremity he surrendered the place to sir William Drury, on a general promise of favourable terms. In this the English general had undertaken for more than he could make good. By Elizabeth's orders sir William Drury saw himself obliged to surrender his prisoners to the vindictive regent. Morton caused the gallant Kirkcaldy and his brother to be executed at the cross of Edinburgh; and Lethington, so long the sharer of his counsels, would have experienced as little mercy had not he taken poison and died, according to the expression of a contemporary, a Roman death.

With the melancholy fate of Kirkcaldy, one of the boldest and most generous warriors, and Maitland, perhaps the most subtle and accomplished politician in Europe, we may conclude the history of queen Mary's reign, since from that period no subject acknowledged her as sovereign.

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